

# AMNESTY

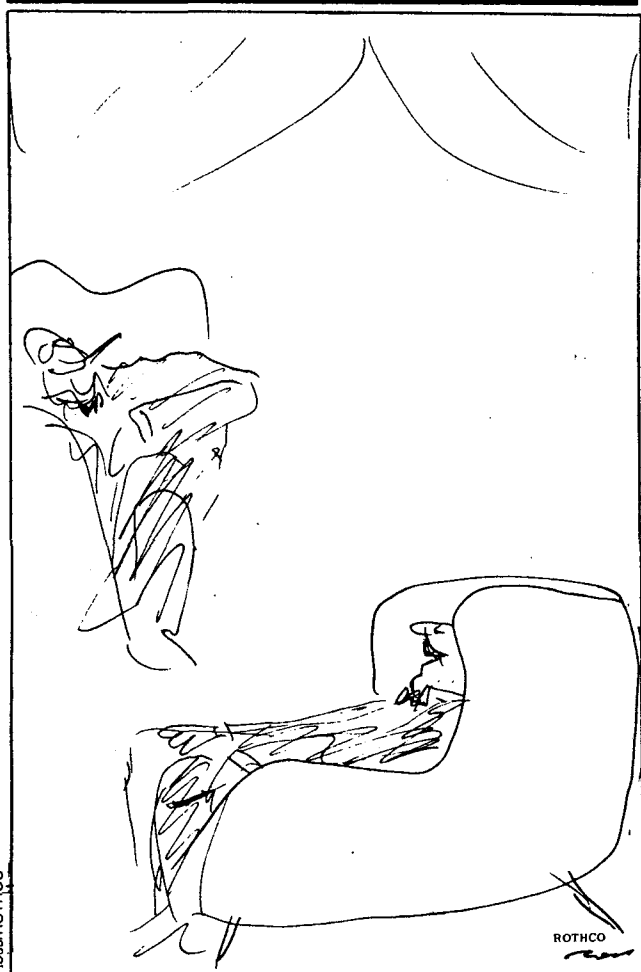
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**OTHER**  
Nicaraguans

**Sandinistas try to win Miskito Indian support**

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# THE INSIDE STORY



"At the risk of losing my soul, I profited to the tune of four and one half million dollars."

## Conservatives fear socialist manifesto from U.S. bishops

By Robert McClory

SOUTH BEND, IND.

It hasn't even been written yet, but the U.S. Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on social justice and the American economic system already has proponents of unhampered free enterprise wringing their hands in nervous anxiety. The basic fear is that the bishops will produce a document that sounds alarmingly like the Democratic presidential platform or maybe even a semi-socialist manifesto with a religious twist.

*Business Week* recently lamented, "The letter will probably support some form of industrial policy, increased welfare spending and the idea of government as employer of last resort." *Business Week* added that the letter might even go so far as to "harshly criticize the capitalistic system."

And *Fortune* was downright nasty. "Continuing to act out the axiom that God intended them to be social planners," declared the magazine, "the bishops are once again on the secular stage and once again threatening to unclarify the issue." Indeed, *Fortune* announced, the bishops gravitate to a planned economy and government involvement because "socialism gives them a role to play while capitalism—reliance on impersonal market forces—leaves them out in the cold."

The immediate occasion for all this fulmination was a symposium at Notre Dame University December 12-14, with the avowed purpose of assisting the bishops and their advisers in clarifying the positions to be taken in the letter (the first draft of which is scheduled to be presented to all the bishops in November 1984—after the presidential election).

At the symposium the five-member committee of bishops preparing the draft heard a variety of economists, theologians and business specialists suggest the directions in which they should go and the distinctions they should make. Although there was a balance of

left, right and centrist advice, the preponderance of views seemed to be in the direction of social planning as against laissez-faire economics. There were few trickle-downers among the presenters and fewer still, it seemed, among some 200 interested persons who participated in the event.

They heard Elmer Johnson and Marina Whitman, two General Motors executives, argue against planning in industrial matters, but the group appeared somewhat more sympathetic to Gar Alperovitz, of the National Center for Economic Alternatives, as he insisted that a planned economy is absolutely essential. Similarly, arguments for more voluntarism from the private sector—especially from the church—as proposed by Joseph Pichler, president of Dillon Companies, Inc., were counteracted by F. Ray Marshall, secretary of labor in the Carter administration, who extolled the value of public service jobs as a vital element in solving the unemployment problem. And Michael Novak, a neoconservative Catholic from the American Enterprise Institute, was attacked by several speakers for his proposal to encourage traditional families (father, mother, children under one roof) by compelling unwed mothers to obtain their public-aid funds from local churches and other guardian-like intermediaries.

C. Fred Bergsten of the Brookings Institution advocated an unimpeded international trading policy, but Father Ernest Bertell, a Notre Dame economist, said unlimited free trade would only widen the growing gap between have and have-not nations.

When the smoke cleared, Milwaukee Archbishop Rembert Weakland, chairman of the drafting committee, indicated in a general way some of the thrusts of the forthcoming pastoral letter, although he was less specific than some reporters wanted him to be. Among them were the following:

- The institutional Church will be pressured to clean up its own house. "We would be remiss if we were not prophetic about justice in our own ranks," Weakland said, after several experts pointed out the glaring contradictions between Catholic social justice theory and the *de facto* practices in some Catholic-owned hospitals and other institutions. Something is clearly wrong, said Father Richard McBrien, a Notre Dame theologian, when the U.S. Church can be so supportive of the Solidarity movement in Poland, yet so indifferent to labor organizing efforts among its own employees in this country. Weakland said the Church, with its huge pension portfolios and large property holdings, could model a creative new form of corporate responsibility.

- The primacy of labor over capital will be stressed. According to Weakland, the Church has lost its once intimate relationship with the labor movement, and it must be restored. He was reinforcing, at least in part, the strong position taken during the symposium by Joe Holland of the Washington, D.C., Center for Concern. Holland declared that the most significant feature of the current stage of industrial capitalism is its strategic, all-out, worldwide attack on workers' rights to organize. The attack, he argued, crosses all national and ideological lines, so that the same obstacles confronting Polish workers behind the Iron Curtain are at work in Brazil, the U.S. and elsewhere. Weakland indicated that labor may receive a thorough analysis as well as a shot in the arm in the pastoral letter.

- There will be a strong continuity with traditional Catholic social thought—especially as interpreted by

Pope John Paul II in his encyclical on human labor (in which he castigated communism and capitalism with equal vehemence). The fears of big business and industry notwithstanding, there is little likelihood that the bishops' document will be a shameless "paeon to planning" (as *Fortune* put it). For more than 140 years the Church has championed the concept of "subsidiarity"—the idea of keeping control at as small and local a level as possible. "Catholic tradition is positive toward the role of government," said Weakland, "but it also recognizes the need for restraints."

- Fast answers and political solutions will be strenuously avoided. Weakland went out of his way to distinguish between the U.S. bishops' letter and one issued on the Canadian economy last year by the Canadian bishops (*In These Times*, Feb. 9, 1983). That much-criticized letter called for "socially useful forms of production," "new forms of worker management ownership" and "community ownership and control of industries." The Canadian letter, said Weakland, was "deliberately politically oriented" and depended too much on questionable interpretations of Catholic social thought. The American bishops' letter, he said, will incorporate far more research and input in an effort to be "credible" to a broad public base. "The bishops are trying to face up to the crucial issues...not to find whipping boys," he said. Consequently, there is little chance that a scathing assault on modern capitalism as an exploitative, materialistic, anti-Christian creature will emerge, even though some basic injustices of the system will be probed and criticized.

If there is to be a balance, why are dedicated capitalists so alarmed this early? It seems to be partly because they recoil instinctively at some of the experts the bishops have called in to provide advice—people like Charles Wilber, a Notre Dame economist who favors government guaranteed jobs. Partly too it comes from fear of the sort of intense public scrutiny on a complex issue that other U.S. bishops' letters have been generating lately. And in part it proceeds from the mind-your-own-affairs mentality characteristic of any elite.

On one point there is nearly unanimous agreement: putting this one together will be a harder task than formulating the now famous Peace Pastoral of 1982. Said one symposium participant, "It's a lot easier to get your arms around the bomb than the American economy."

Robert McClory is a staff writer for the *National Catholic Reporter*.

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## IN THESE TIMES



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... AND ASK YOUR CONGRESSMAN IF WE'RE IN COMBAT YET — IF I GET KILLED, I'D LIKE TO KNOW MY STATUS!

By John B. Judis

## WASHINGTON

**I**N THE WAKE OF THE PENTAGON'S Long Commission Report on the October 23 bombing of the Marine barracks in Beirut, congressional pressure to withdraw American troops from Lebanon is mounting. Last week former Vice-President and presidential candidate Walter Mondale announced his support for withdrawal, and House Speaker Tip O'Neill declared that he was reconsidering his past support for the Marines' presence.

The Long Commission, composed of four retired officers and a former Navy undersecretary, issued its report on December 20, but the report's release to the press was delayed a week. It not only echoes the findings of a House Armed Services subcommittee investigation that the Marines at the Beirut International Airport were inadequately prepared for a terrorist attack, but also contains a sharp dissent from American foreign and military policy in Lebanon.

**Military assumptions.**

The report's main contention, repeated throughout the 141-page analysis, is that the Marines' role in Beirut, which was initially defined by the administration and the Joint Chiefs of Staff as "peacekeeping," changed drastically without the Marines' original guidelines being altered. As a result, Marine commanders in Beirut did not take the kind of precautions against attack that would have been appropriate to a hostile, occupying army.

According to the report, the original "Alert and Execute Orders" of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, handed down the chain of command in September 1982, described the Marines' mission as "peacekeeping." The orders specified that the Marines would have a "non-combatant role" and that the Marines should "be prepared to withdraw if required by hostile action."

In September of that year, the commander in chief of the European command drew up "rules of engagement" for the Marines. These rules were normal "peacetime rules" and were appropriate to what the military calls a "permissive environment"—one in which the Marines were "perceived as a neutral, stabilizing presence."

According to these rules, Marines were to keep their weapons "on safe, with no rounds in the chamber"; they were not to "chamber a round" unless "in immediate self-defense where deadly force is authorized"; they were to "call local forces [the Lebanese Armed Forces] to assist in all self-defense efforts"; they were to "use only the minimum degree of force necessary"; and "if effective fire is received," they were to "direct return fire at a distinct target only."

All Marines were required to carry a white card with these rules of engagement. After the April 18 bombing of the American embassy, Marines guarding the building were given special blue cards that allowed them greater discretion in using their arms, but these new rules were not extended to the troops guarding the Beirut International Airport. It was consistent with these rules that sentries at four guardposts were not carrying loaded weapons when the truck approached them on October 23.

When the Commission interviewed Marine Commander Col. Timothy Geraghty, it found that he perceived the Marines' mission in accordance with these original guidelines. According to the report, Geraghty "perceived his mission to be more diplomatic than military, providing presence and visibility, along with the other MNF (Multinational Force) partners, to help the government of Lebanon achieve stability."

Geraghty said that "he had made a conscious decision not to permit insertion of magazines in weapons in interior [sentry] posts to prevent accidental discharges and possible injury to innocent civilians."

But while the Marines' guidelines had not changed, the nature of their mission had.

**Hostile environment.**

According to the report, the initial orders assumed that the Marines' mission would be "of limited duration" and that it would be "directed in concert with extensive diplomatic initiatives designed to shore up the government of Lebanon and establish a climate for political reconciliation." But the diplomatic initiatives failed, and the Marines' military role was expanded on an *ad hoc* basis.

The Commission believes that the key event in the transformation of the Marines' role was the outbreak of fighting in the Shuf Mountains between the Druze

and the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF). The report traces this fighting to the July 1982 advance of Lebanese Christian forces into the Shuf Mountains behind the advancing Israeli army. The Christian forces had never before entered the Druze areas. When the Israelis withdrew from the Shuf Mountains after the May 1983 Accord with the Bashir Gemayel government, the Druze attacked the Christian forces and were on the verge of driving them out in early September.

The LAF came to the aid of the Christian forces and the U.S. came to the aid of the LAF. That spelled the end of the Marines' neutral status in Lebanon. According to the report, "when hostilities erupted between the LAF and the Shi'ite and Druze militias, USMNF [U.S. Multinational Force] efforts to support the LAF were perceived to be both pro-Phalangist and anti-Muslim."

The U.S. naval bombardment of Suz-el-Gharb on September 19 confirmed this perception. According to the report, the "prevalent view" within Marine command structure was that "there was some linkage" between the Suz-el-Gharb bombardment and the October 23 terrorist bombing of Marine headquarters.

The report faults the two Marine commanders in Beirut, Geraghty and Lt. Col.

The Commission's perspective is most evident in its historical analysis, which eschews the Reagan administration's view that Lebanon is primarily an East-West battlefield. Instead, the Commission portrays "the government of Lebanon [as] the creation of confessionalism [religious sectarianism] and localism." It explains the civil war of the '70s and '80s as the result of the Arab-Israeli conflict impinging upon Lebanon's existing internal conflicts.

According to the Commission, "The facts of political life in Lebanon make any attempt on the part of an outsider to appear non-partisan virtually impossible." In other words, once the Marines were inserted in 1982, it was virtually inevitable that they would cease to function as a "peacekeeping force."

The Long Commission report continues the dissent of the American military from administration policy, an ironic state of affairs for those who recall the Joint Chiefs' penchant for bombing runs during the Vietnam war. In September 1982, they recommended unanimously against putting the Marines back in Lebanon. In September 1983 the Joint Chiefs opposed the escalation of American military involvement, including the bombardment of Suz-el-Gharb. On October 18, five days before the bombing, they

## Pressure to pull out of Lebanon mounts

Howard L. Gerlach, for concentrating American troops within the single battalion headquarters at the airport. But in assessing final blame, the Commission insists that there were "a series of circumstances beyond their control that influenced their judgment and their actions relating to the security of the USMNF."

The Commission recommends that the secretary of defense "urge the National Security Council [to] undertake a reexamination of alternative means of achieving U.S. objectives in Lebanon." While the Commission does not make any explicit recommendations about which alternative should be pursued, its analysis implicitly favors withdrawal.

recommended that the president consider withdrawing the Marines from Beirut.

The Long Commission Report is, however, the first public statement of the military's dissatisfaction with administration policy, lending legitimacy to congressional Republicans' and Democrats' opposition to that policy.

The curious omission from the report is any discussion of Israel's role in Lebanon. In the report of the investigations subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, released December 21, the May 17 American-sponsored accord between the Gemayel government and Israel, which ceded sovereignty over South-

*Continued on page 8*



# IN SHORT

## Litton sees the light

Organized labor's recently launched multi-union campaign against Litton Industries (*In These Times*, Dec. 14, 1983) may have an abrupt ending, reports Steve Askin. At its annual meeting December 10 in Beverly Hills, the company surprised labor and church protesters with a conciliatory stand. Chairman Fred O'Green offered to set up a joint union-management committee to review union charges and to study labor relations and productivity problems in his \$4.7 billion-a-year conglomerate. He also told stockholders that the company recognizes employees' right to organize and promised that it would never tolerate illegal action against unionists. Yet he also stressed that it would uphold management's right to oppose formation of a union. The five-person committee in charge of seeing that O'Green stands by his word faces two immediate labor-management conflicts: a microwave oven assembly plant in South Dakota organized by the United Electrical Workers three years ago and still without a contract, and a four-month lockout at the Union/Butterfield cutting tool plant in Athol, Mass. Protesters who showed up to challenge the company wound up cautiously praising it instead. Monsignor George Higgins welcomed the new stance. Howard Samuels, president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, said that labor has "agreed on a moratorium" in its campaign while officials study the company plan.

## Choose your weapons

In a move that brings the meganumbers of the arms race down to human scale, President Reagan recently installed a handful of surface-to-air missiles around the White House to protect the First Family from attack. Seeing safety differently, the city council in the neighboring town of Takoma Park, Md., unanimously passed a Nuclear Free Zone Act outlawing production or work on nuclear weapons within city limits. Joining 35 other cities that have voted for free zones, the ordinance passed on December 12 adds two unprecedented provisions to the disarmament arsenal: it prohibits the city from granting contracts to firms that research or produce nuclear components, and directs the city administrator to devise a socially responsible investment policy so that no city funds are given for nuclear production. And a creative addendum directs Takoma Park to find a "sibling city for nuclear sanity in the Soviet Union" so that cultural and political exchange can begin from the ground up.

## Contra counter

U.S. dollars may restore what U.S.-funded "contras" have destroyed in Nicaragua. In mid-December the National Council of Churches (NCC) launched an emergency appeal for \$200,000 to undo some of the damage wrought in October when the anti-Sandinista guerrillas attacked an oil storage facility in Puerto Corinto, destroying warehouses of food and medical supplies. The appeal is being made through church groups and in newspaper advertisements directed to the general public. More than 40 tons of medicine were destroyed in the raid, and by Christmas the first of three shipments of medicine had been sent to CEPAD, a Nicaraguan relief organization.

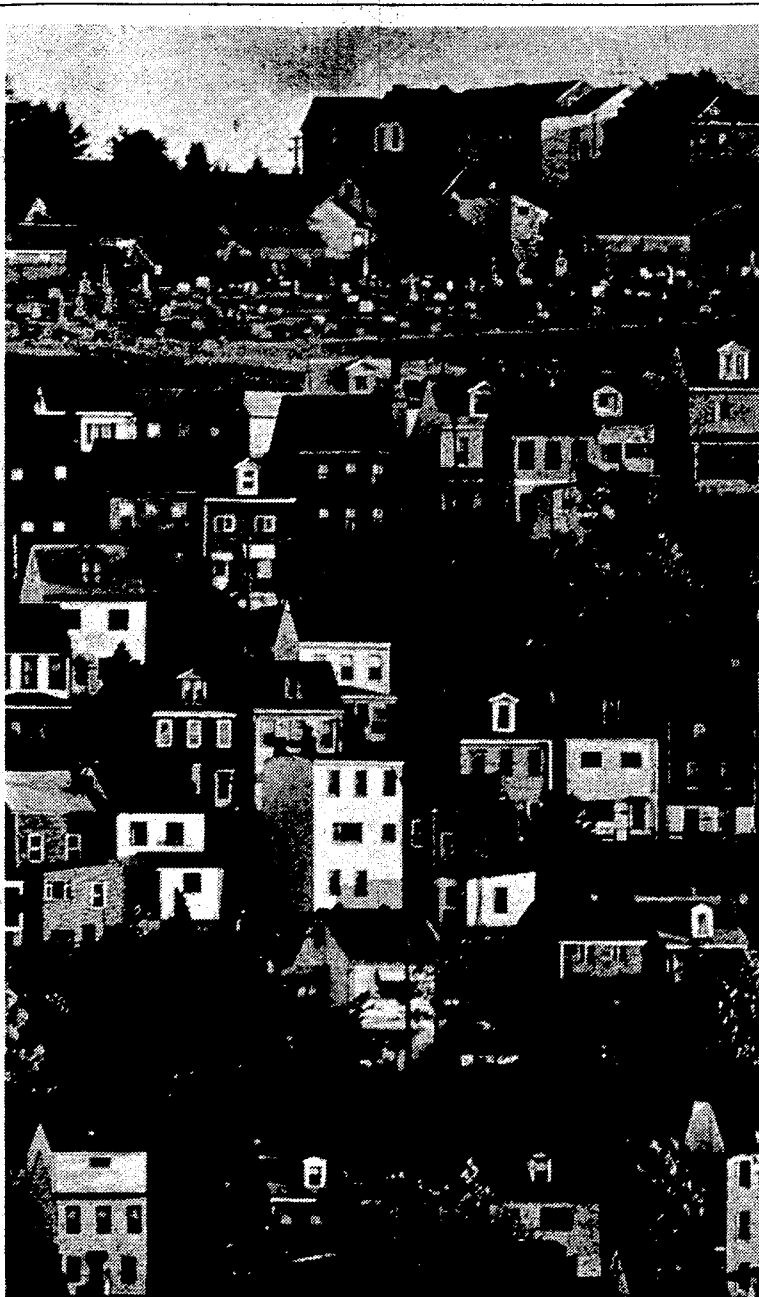
## Fertile ground

The Pentagon has yet to release the information necessary to determine if a disproportionate number of the dead in the October bombing in Lebanon were black, as was true in Vietnam. But more than half the 239 U.S. casualties were from Southern states, reports *Southern Exposure* magazine. The region leads the nation in supplying more recruits to the military—30 percent come from 10 states in the Southeast. "Be all that you can be," though glib, has a ring of truth about it in what is still the poorest region in the U.S. Last year's census figures show 45 percent of black children under the age of 18 live below the poverty line in the South, making them likely fodder for U.S. military exploits.

## Half-truths

Last week the State Department released a document that was kept from citizen scrutiny for six years because of declassification disputes. The contested information in "Foreign Relations of the U.S.: 1952-1954" concerns the American perspective on the overthrow of the left-leaning government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala 30 years ago. What is left out of the report, though, is more significant than what's included: the covert role of the CIA and the Department of Defense in the coup. It's not news that the U.S. backed Guatemalan exiles from Honduras to topple the government—Eisenhower mentioned it in passing in his memoirs—but apparently it will not be official information available to the public anytime soon. The document's introduction counsels parties interested in the whole story to consult other agencies "such as the Department of Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency." A State Department historian admits that this would be a futile effort, however, because "they do not want published anything related to covert activity."

—Beth Maschinot



Pennsylvania passed the nation's first mortgage foreclosure relief legislation last month.

## Legal victory bodes well for homeowners

PHILADELPHIA—Thousands of financially distressed Pennsylvanians celebrated the Christmas holiday more joyously than they had expected, thanks to the passage of the nation's first statewide mortgage foreclosure relief legislation December 14.

House Bill 500, the Homeowners Emergency Mortgage Assistance Act, will establish a low-interest loan program for state residents about to lose their homes due to economic hardship. Any mortgagor who can prove "default has been caused by circumstances beyond their control, and show a reasonably good prospect of resuming full monthly mortgage payments within 36 months" will qualify for the program.

The legislation, which passed by huge margins in both the House and Senate, was signed by reluctant Republican Gov. Richard Thornburgh two days before Christmas. His signature initiated a 90-day moratorium on foreclosures, and the inception of a desperately needed program that has been called a "Godsend" and "salvation" by many distraught homeowners across the state.

The legislative victory not only halted foreclosures and evictions of economically distressed Pennsylvanians, it also symbolized the potential power of well-coordinated and persistent grassroots activity. Despite success in barricading the homes of unemployed workers to prevent sheriff sales last winter, it became evident to leaders of the Mon Valley Unem-

ployed Committee and the Philadelphia Unemployment Project (PUP) that more had to be done.

For PUP Director John Dodds, "the stand-off with the sheriff's office was only a temporary holding action," but it accomplished two goals: mobilizing the unemployed and attracting media attention. That accomplished, Mon Valley and PUP were able to convince the sheriffs and Common Pleas Judges in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia to issue foreclosure moratoriums. "We thought that was a great victory," said PUP organizer Horace Small, "but we soon realized it was temporary, and a more long-range remedy and strategy was needed."

Legislation was the answer, but unfortunately there was no successful state model to follow. Armed with a realistic pessimism about the campaign's chances of success, legislation was drafted and introduced in February 1983. Next on the organizing agenda was the formation of a potent statewide coalition to lobby the bill. Unemployed groups in Erie, Corry, Warren and other remote areas of the state were enlisted. Then PUP began outreach to more established groups like the Pennsylvania Catholic Conference and the state AFL-CIO.

"The mortgage campaign was a natural for us," stated Bernie Dinkin, educational director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Workers Union. "Our membership has been cut in half

over the last decade so we can readily relate to this foreclosure fight." Support came from other church and civic groups, along with steady labor assistance from the UAW and Steelworkers.

Pennsylvania lawmakers said it was the size and constant vigilance of the Pennsylvania Foreclosure Crisis Committee that made the campaign a success. Coalition activities ran the gamut from hosting legislative breakfasts to intense individual lobbying sessions. The steady stream of grassroots activity made it politically impossible to ignore the bill and difficult to vote against it. "There is no doubt in my mind that without PUP this bill would not have gone anywhere," said State Senator James Lloyd, a chief proponent of HB 500.

But the bill had its opponents. Conservative Republican legislators feared the program would be "abused by slackers and deadbeats." They repeatedly offered amendments to constrict eligibility and weaken the impact of the bill. Their fears were only partially assuaged by the fact that HB 500 was identical to the HUD-FHA Assignment Program that has shown a credible nine-year mortgage assistance record.

Funding was the legislation's chief obstacle. The Republican-controlled Senate and governor's office was loathe to support another perceived "social welfare program," but a well-orchestrated last-minute lobbying barrage and strong leadership by several senators proved successful. Five million dollars will be allotted to begin the program and, in July, corporate donations in return for tax credits will start to fund the program.

POP members are skeptical about corporate participation. "We're happy with the \$5 million up-front, but the corporate contribution part is a fantasy," says David Ellis. "But it's easier to lobby the legislature for money for an existing program than to get money for a new one."

—Allen Hornblum

## UDF fights "whites only"

JOHANNESBURG—Despite the overwhelming acceptance by South Africa's 4.5 million whites of a new racist constitution last month, anti-apartheid groups inside the country are continuing to fight for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Two-thirds of the whites who voted in the November 2 referendum approved the government's plan to set up a tri-cameral, ethnically divided parliament in which "colored" and "Indian" voters will for the first time have some say in national policies. But under the new constitution, which will probably go into effect in the next six months, nearly all executive power will lie in the hands of the state president, who will inevitably be chosen by the ruling all-white Nationalist Party.

The state president, advised by an appointed state president's council, will decide which issues to present to each parliamentary house—"white," "colored" or "Indian." In votes by all three



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houses, white delegates will invariably outweigh the other two houses.

Meanwhile, more than 21 million black South Africans will have no say at all in national affairs. Their legal political participation is limited to bantustan administrations and local municipal authorities, which rely heavily on Pretoria for their budgets.

Knowing the new constitution

used to urge colored and Indian South Africans to boycott the forthcoming elections for parliamentary delegates.

Two weeks ago, black townships refused to vote in municipal council elections. In Soweto, the highest turnout in any contested ward was 13 percent, while in some wards only 1.6 percent of eligible voters came to the polls. Most observers predict similar



Der Spiegel

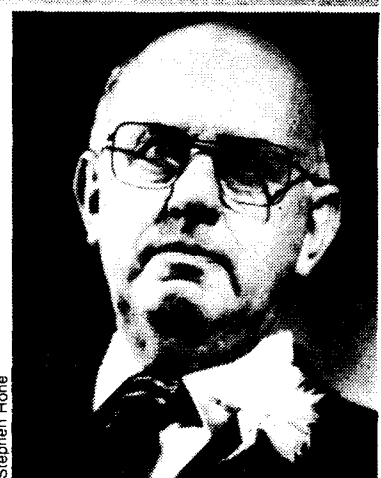
**South Africa's Prime Minister P.W. Botha backs a constitution that gives blacks no say in national affairs.**

faces vehement opposition from South Africa's 2.6 million "coloreds" and 800,000 "Indians," the Pretoria government will not risk referenda in those communities. Instead, it plans to ask selected community "leaders" for their opinions. Leaders of the pro-government Coloured Labour Party and South African Indian Council have said they will rely on "scientific surveys" to determine the level of support for the new constitution in their communities.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), a coalition of 570 community, worker, women and stu-



Stephen Hone



boycotts when colored and Indian adults are asked to choose parliamentary representatives.

Outside a Durban building where Prime Minister P.W. Botha was recently meeting with pro-government Indian businessmen, banners reading "We want a national convention" and "Botha's deal has no appeal" were unfurled. The demonstration was broken up by the police, but not before demonstrators had clearly indicated their sympathy for the illegal African National Congress.

That night, a UDF official who had been arrested at the earlier demonstration and released on bail told a cheering crowd that Indian South Africans will never accept apartheid or "a fraudulent constitution that is going to conscript the Indian people in defense of the Group Areas Act, pass laws and white privilege."

The probability that with the vote will come conscription for colored and Indian men is a major issue in both communities. At present, only white South Africans are being drafted to fight South Africa's wars in Namibia and Angola.

In mid-December, UDF delegates from all over South Africa will attend a three-day conference to discuss the coalition's future strategy. Their mood is likely to be far angrier than the optimistic jubilation that marked the UDF's August launching. UDF leader Dr. Alan Boesak told the Durban meeting last month, "We must not be afraid to die for our freedom. Too many people have been tortured, jailed, killed and exiled for us to stop the struggle. We must persevere until we attain our struggle for a fully democratic South Africa."

—Jan Pager

## Briefing: Marathon PR campaigns beat left

Less than two years after its founding, a small Southern California public relations firm has established itself as a leading campaign manager against the left in cities up and down the state's coast. Marathon Communications swept the city council race in Tom Hayden's home base of Santa Monica and ousted the left mayor, and nearly took control of the city council in Santa Cruz.

Although the firm is small, Marathon's ability to parlay big money, new-age election technology and old-fashioned fear of big government should land them steady work against the growing movement of local left politics in California.

In 1979 Santa Monica voters passed the strongest rent control law in the West and elected Campaign for Economic Democracy community activist Ruth Yanatta Goldway to the city council. Two years later, a slate backed by Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights gave the left in the city council a majority and made Goldway mayor.

As the April 1983 election approached, rent control remained popular in this Los Angeles suburb where nearly 80 percent of the 80,000 residents are tenants. And the left council made friends by supporting social services, increasing citizen participation, forcing the creation of low-income housing and protecting the coastal environment. Early polls indicated that Goldway would win easily while opposition councilmembers Christine Reed and William Jennings were in trouble.

Then Marathon went to work. Between contributions to

the All Santa Monica opposition slate and a referendum to weaken rent control, they spent \$450,000—or more than \$30 for every vote. Homeowners were contacted repeatedly and urged to vote. When the results were in, Goldway ran fourth and was out of office. Reed and Jennings led the field and were joined on the council by fellow All Santa Monica David Epstein.

Marathon also played a key role in defeating rent control in Los Angeles County last November. Marathon directed a paid army of 450 walkers and callers in the Los Angeles County campaign. "The election turnout was projected to be no higher than 15 percent," Marathon's promo package boasts. "By concentrating our efforts on identified homeowners, the campaign field program boosted turnout to over 26 percent."

Seven months later in Santa Cruz, another Marathon-run campaign ousted socialist-feminist Mayor Bruce Van Allen. Fellow socialist-feminist Mike Rotkin, who led the field in 1979, trailed in third place and Jane Weed barely allowed the left to hold onto the council majority by a scant 145 votes. Even that victory has been called into question by a claim that 472 people voted illegally on the local University of California campus. That challenge will be tried in court this month and could remove the left from power.

Marathon faced early polls indicating that Van Allen and Rotkin would win by 15 percent. In addition, the polls

showed that the left had community support on major issues likely to come up during the campaign.

Because the city has a strict limit on campaign contributions, the Marathon-run All Santa Cruz Coalition had to make ends meet with only \$15 for every vote needed to win. Early in the campaign, every likely conservative resident who had not voted in 1981 was sent All Santa Cruz literature and an absentee ballot form. The result was an absentee vote five times the norm, with conservatives racking up a huge lead. Marathon also organized a massive phone campaign that made three calls to every registered voter in town. The mail campaign, which sent an average of five pieces to every registered voter, was targeted to meet a range of ideological needs.

Merchants received an inflammatory letter from anti-rent control leader Doug Austin warning that Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda were trying to extend their tentacles 400 miles north from Santa Monica. That package included an article informing the voters that bike lanes were the first step to socialism, followed by recycling and food co-ops. The left's control of city government put Santa Cruz at the fourth of 10 steps toward public ownership of all property.

More moderate audiences were sent a mailer featuring the smiling face of County Sheriff Al Noren. "I'm voting for the future of Santa Cruz, not the Rotkin-Van Allen Agenda," Noren told city residents. Because the All Santa Cruzans were in the minority on the issues, they concentrated on spreading the word that the left had a "secret agenda" they were ready to implement after consolidating municipal power.

—Bob Johnson

**Santa Monica Mayor Ruth Goldway was ousted with Marathon's help.**



Peter Kelly



## IN THE NATION

## Tom Hayden covers all his bases in first Assembly term

CALIFORNIA



By Joan Walsh

LOS ANGELES

**O**NE YEAR INTO HIS FIRST term in the California Assembly, Tom Hayden says he's working to become the consummate "district politician." Assessing his tenure, Hayden points first to what he has achieved for his Santa Monica-West Los Angeles constituency: attaining state money to repair the storm-wracked Santa Monica pier and coastline, keeping a local school open, opposing a bill that would preempt local rent control ordinances, encouraging neighborhood anti-crime efforts and solving "literally a thousand" constituent complaints.

It's left to press secretary Steve Rivers to point out achievements that might seem more significant to national political observers: Hayden's award from the California Public Interest Research Group for the best voting record in the legislature on public interest bills ranging from toxics control to campaign fi-

nance, or his zero rating from the state Chamber of Commerce. Others point to his votes and public stands on progressive tax reform legislation, alternative energy policy, education funding and anti-intervention in Central America.

Hayden's reticence in highlighting his more politically important accomplishments isn't a sudden outbreak of modesty in mid-life. Nor has the 44-year-old veteran of civil rights, antiwar and community organizing campaigns decided to settle down to a career in the state assembly. To fulfill his more grandiose political and personal ambitions, Hayden believes his best strategy is consolidating his district base, outliving his radical past and becoming a reliable, play-by-the-rules Democratic loyalist, if on the party's left wing.

And yet, for all his emphasis on electoral security, Hayden has also managed to reassure his left constituency by being a solid assembly vote on consumer legislation, public assistance and social programs and women's rights. If there's criticism, it's that he doesn't always put

his voice where his votes are, concentrating this year at least on building a reputation for quiet, well-prepared team work.

Contrary to the expectations of at least his Republican opponents, Hayden hasn't used his office as a platform for "radical" stands on state or national issues. His chief media events were bringing astronaut Sally Ride to Sacramento and attending a Dodgers baseball camp.

#### Into the mainstream.

Most press accounts of Hayden's first year in office have been grudgingly respectful, a little surprised at the freshman assemblyman's low-profile, diligent style. Much was made of his steady work on unglamorous legislation as vice-chair of the Revenue and Taxation Committee, as well as his mutually respectful relationships with Democratic powerhouses like Assembly majority leader Willie Brown and State Treasurer Jesse Unruh.

"Hard-working," "low-key" and "far cry from '60s" were the common demon-

Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda

inators in all headlines assessing his early months in office, and it was generally judged that his effort to leave the radical fringe for the mainstream had been a success.

His legislative success has been less obvious, partly because the Democratic-controlled legislature as a whole has been stymied by the conservative intransigence of Republican Gov. George Deukmejian, who won election the same time Hayden did. He has had legislative triumphs, though small ones, such as carrying solar and conservation tax credits and other progressive tax reform legislation. And along with others on the party's left, including Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles), he was credited with helping to galvanize Democratic opposition to Deukmejian's plan to inaugurate tuition at California's traditionally free community colleges. (That was a bittersweet victory, however. Deukmejian responded to the vote by slashing the colleges' budgets by \$109 million, the amount the tui-



tion would have provided, and the battle continues.)

Hayden's efforts on behalf of Vietnam veterans have attracted him the most attention, since his antiwar past creates the kind of irony journalists can easily grasp. He has pushed the state to sponsor an Agent Orange review commission, legislation Deukmejian vetoed when it came across his desk.

Another irony: at the same time, right-wing veterans groups were demanding Hayden's ouster from the assembly, on the grounds that his visit to Hanoi during the war constituted support for an enemy government, thereby making him ineligible to hold public office under the California constitution. Except for embarrassing Hayden, the effort has gotten nowhere.

Hayden's most potentially controversial proposal to date has been his support for "exploration" of the idea of a police corps, modeled after college ROTC programs. The proposal, which has received Justice Department support in the form of a \$400,000 grant for exploratory and pilot programs, would provide tuition to college students who agreed to take police science courses during their schooling, then serve a three-year stint with a local police force after graduation.

The police corps proposal comes from one of Hayden's singular political concerns: shaping a "progressive" response to the rising incidence and fear of crime in California. Since early 1981, when Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) organized a conference on crime in response to a statewide wave of violence, Hayden has pushed crime as a public concern the left can't ignore—or, the cynical have said, one it can try to capitalize on. With his encouragement, the Santa Monica Renters Rights city council majority has made anti-crime efforts central to their political platform, and he ran hard on the issue in his own assembly campaign last fall.

He offers the police corps proposal as "an attempt to answer the question: what can be done about people's fears of violent street crime at a time when budgetary restraints make it impossible to afford expanding the police force?" He sees the program providing college assistance to students who will go on to aid local police forces in community relations, neighborhood watch programs, rape crisis and other counseling, freeing up experienced officers to deal with violent crime.

But he acknowledges the proposal has its problems. Police unions are unenthusiastic about developing a pool of unpaid, inexperienced recruits to do the work of their members. No one can say yet what the programs will cost, or whether the money might be better spent expanding existing anti-crime efforts. And at a time when education assistance is being cut back sharply, the police corps could well have the look of the volunteer army, primarily attracting disadvantaged, minority youths with few other options.

In the face of criticism, Hayden has become cautious. "I haven't committed myself," he says, though the proposal is chiefly identified with his name. "Some of your idealism wears down as you find more and more objections to something."

He says he won't offer the concept as legislation until he's sure "it won't undercut the police unions or the education groups, and that it can be done more cheaply than more traditional methods. Everybody's interests have to merge." Maintaining that commitment to consensus could, of course, torpedo the proposal.

#### Access and accountability.

Hayden gets his highest marks from constituents and observers for accessibility. Staff members attend countless community meetings, from crime watch groups to welfare rights organizations.

Cynthia Anderson of Californians for a Fair Share, a welfare recipients' lobby, says her group has gone to see Hayden several times, briefing him on their issues. He has attended State Senator Diane Watson's feminization of poverty workshops, she notes, and has expressed concern for the problems of public assistance recipients in his economically stratified district.

## For all of Hayden's preoccupation with consolidating his Assembly support—and with reaching beyond a left that's too small for his political vision and ambition—he still has a left agenda. "But it's important to build a secure, progressive base in your own backyard."

But Anderson is disappointed that he hasn't been a more visible spokesperson for social welfare programs. "He's good, but he doesn't go far enough. He always takes time to hear us out, but I don't think welfare is really a priority for him. The women legislators are much better."

Hayden has also taken an interest in the plight of Central American refugees in Los Angeles, working with staff at El Rescate refugee center on what measures the state could take to protect the political exiles. He and CED have also worked closely with the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (see sidebar). His reluctance to take outspoken stands on extra-district issues has found exception in his opposition to U.S. Central America policy. He sponsored a resolution in the legislature condemning the Reagan administration's intervention there.

Not all of his forays into foreign policy have been as admirable, however. He returned from a pre-election visit to Lebanon last summer an ardent defender of the Begin government's invasion, which no doubt helped his standing with his district's westside Jewish community but frayed his already strained ties to the left. He remains an enthusiastic supporter of Israel, though he has increased his contacts with more moderate sectors and Peace Now Israelis.

His reaction to the Korean Air Lines disaster was similarly disconcerting. The *Los Angeles Times* featured a photo of

him at an anti-Soviet rally sponsored by conservative U.S. Rep. Bobbi Fiedler (R-Northridge) where he helped dump out bottles of Stolichnaya vodka and said Americans who drank it were "washing down the blood of innocent victims."

In light of subsequent revelations about the incident, Hayden calls his rally appearance a "mistake," especially since the event was disrupted by hecklers who called Hayden a Communist and all but blamed him for the KAL disaster.

Yet he won't recant his public condemnation of the Soviets in the matter. "Because of Afghanistan, Poland and now this—and I see this in that context—I think the Soviet Union has become a headache for the peace movement and for the genuine left, and that we have to criticize their behavior. What do you think the effect of the KAL incident is on the average, anxious citizen of this country?"

A politician's lament, if there ever was one, and Hayden doesn't take well to the suggestion that it might be his role to publicly challenge the pervasive anti-Soviet propaganda that makes the "average, anxious citizen" so ready to perceive the KAL incident as a bloodthirsty act of Soviet savagery. His obsession with transcending left truisms to reach the ordinary voter is what makes Hayden important. Yet it also occasionally forces him into an unseemly political timidity, which Gore Vidal used the "O" word—"opportunism"—to describe, stamping it on

## Citizen Action and CED

Even as California's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) was building chapters in 20 cities and racking up electoral victories for self-styled progressive candidates around the state, it was slow in overcoming one obstacle to political legitimacy: its origins in Tom Hayden's unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic Senate nomination in 1976. Despite its efforts on behalf of rent control, toxics cleanup, utility reform and reproductive rights, and its work for countless candidates besides Hayden, CED couldn't shake its image as the foot soldiers of Hayden's electoral ambitions.

But with Hayden safely lodged in the state assembly, probably for a second term, CED has emerged from his shadow. To his credit, Hayden has encouraged that evolution, which was symbolized by two key developments in 1983: CED's expansion into the Bay Area and its recent application to affiliate with the national Citizen Action network, expected to become official this spring.

The Citizen Action affiliation is important, says CED Executive Director Jack Nicholl, "because of their campaigns on energy, toxics, El Salvador, the economy. On all those issues, we become the California group responsible for advancing a Citizen Action program."

Citizen Action, in exchange, gets one of the nation's most sophisticated grassroots electoral machines as a member. The mutual interest reflects Citizen Action's growing concern with electoral politics, after years of focusing chiefly on issues campaigns and lobbying.

Widening its focus beyond electoral work to more ambitious issues-organizing is an important step in CED's political evolution. "There are certain limits to a strict electoral approach," says Bay Area CED coordinator Craig Merrillees. He and Nicholl believe the Citizen Action model can help CED use issues "to build long-term, sustained relationships with other constituencies, especially labor."

That desire for cooperation with other groups is in itself evidence of a more subtle shift within CED. From its inception in the Hayden Senate campaign, the group has been a singular force in state politics, working to develop its own organizing models, uncomfortable in coalitions. That *modus operandi* has caused friction with other left groups, which in the past perceived CED as arrogant and chiefly interested in attracting the political spotlight for itself. Nicholl says the Citizen Action hookup comes out of CED's desire "to figure out how to do better coalition politics."

Comments Merrillees: "We're trying to break out of the isolation that's been inevitable, to open up to new ideas and strategies." He attributes CED's past coalition difficulties to "our being parochial and chauvinistic on occasion, but the left is always ruthlessly critical, especially of those struggling for power."

CED's evolution was prefigured by the hiring of Nicholl and Merrillees, who are Citizen Action alumnae. Nicholl worked with the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, Merrillees with the Illinois Public Action Council and Citizen Action's Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition Project. Their hirings speak well of CED chair Hayden's willingness to let the group evolve into an independent political force.

"I think there's a healthy autonomy from Tom, and his career in the legislature. There's a mutual tolerance and in-

dependence that's important to CED's development. I was pleasantly surprised when I got here to go to meetings and see Tom lose votes on very controversial issues. We're trying to maintain a relationship that works for both CED and his career," says Merrillees.

Hayden's reputation perhaps indelibly. Hayden remains uneasy about carrying the ideological baggage of close association with the left, even its democratic genus. While he's "not uncomfortable" being personally identified with left politics, he sees CED and groups like it as "populist, with a small-d democratic emphasis, part of a long-time American tradition of demanding a greater voice. I don't see them as being as ideological as the term 'left' implies, as having an ism. There's more of a search for economic formulations, less of a belief that we have the answers."

Yet for all of his preoccupation with the demands of consolidating his assembly support—and with reaching beyond a left that's too small for his political vision and ambition—he still has a left agenda. "I realize there's a war in Central America. I realize that there are 10 million people out of work. I realize the arms race is out of control. I realize that we are still committing ecological suicide and I would like to do something about it. But it's important to build a secure, progressive base in your own backyard. To be an effective legislator you have to communicate that you're secure in your district, and that you're not just using your office as a stepping stone to another."

These days that base is looking increasingly secure. Hayden expects to face no Democratic opposition to his re-election in November, and last week the news came that his strongest potential Republican rival, Santa Monica City Councilmember David Epstein (who took Ruth Goldway's seat last April), has decided not to enter the race. That frees Hayden—along with his campaign staff, CED and his fundraising abilities—from the burden of another bitter, \$2 million assembly campaign.

That's a boost for the state's Democratic left, predicts Lenny Goldberg, administrative aide to Rep. Tom Bates (D-Berkeley). "Tom has made his way through a strategic minefield very well—he's downplayed his role to become a team player with the caucus. But his statewide network and ability to raise money gives him—and the party's progressive wing—a lot of clout. He's done very well."

Last year it helped CISPES pass a strong anti-intervention resolution into the state Democratic convention, and Nicholl says there's a lot of interest on the CED board in intensifying that work. The group will also push to get an industrial policy statement into the state platform this election year—a campaign that harks back to its policy work with the Brown administration, which was more encouraging of innovative public investment proposals than the Reaganesque Deukmejian government. And CED's women's rights focus will broaden beyond choice lobbying to work on feminization of poverty and other economic issues, says coordinator Sherrie Novick.

In the coming year, Nicholl predicts that CED will be more active in organizing opposition to U.S. policy in Central America.

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But despite its new issues focus, the group will likely be absorbed in electoral work this year, given the host of state and local races in which it has a stake. Hayden says the group, through the Citizen Action network, will participate in targeted voter registration drives in California as well as "swing states," to help the Democratic presidential nominee in November. Although the group has endorsed Alan Cranston, and its delegates to last summer's state convention were credited with helping to orchestrate a presidential straw poll on his behalf, like the rest of the Democratic Party's left wing, CED will certainly throw its weight behind the Democratic nominee, whoever it may be.

—J.W.



# Marines

Continued from page 3

ern Lebanon to Israel, was cited as an important factor in changing the perception of the Marines' role in Lebanon.

The House report also noted that the U.S. stationed its forces in the vulnerable low ground of the airport rather than on

the high ground so that Israeli forces in Sidon would not have to pass between their lines. The Marines were concerned, Gen. James Mead told the subcommittee, that the Moslems might perceive "cooperation between the Multinational Force and the Israelis."

## Reagan's response.

The administration was visibly reluctant to release the Long Commission Report. It delayed its public release a week and then omitted the usual background brief-

ing that accompanies the release of reports. Then President Reagan held a news conference on December 27 to answer questions raised by the report.

He rejected disciplinary proceedings against the Marine commanders. "I do not believe...that the local commanders on the ground...should be punished for not fully comprehending the nature of today's terrorist threat," Reagan said. "If there is to be blame, it properly rests here in this office and with this president."

With this move he was trying to defuse further discussion of the Beirut bombing, since presumably no one could blame the president for specific measures taken or not taken at the Beirut airport. But his response also unwittingly directed attention at the report's main point, which was that government policy was ultimately to blame for the bombing.

But Reagan also tried to deflect the issue from American policy in Lebanon to the military's ability to meet the threat of

terrorism. According to the president, the report's principal conclusion was that "the U.S. and its military institutions are by tradition and training inadequately equipped to deal with the fundamentally new phenomenon of state-supported terrorism."

This conclusion was, however, at best ancillary to the report, which recognized that Mideast terrorism has occurred in response to specific policies and activities. While the military should take whatever measures it can to defend itself, the administration must consider the merits of a policy that exposes the military to such dangers.

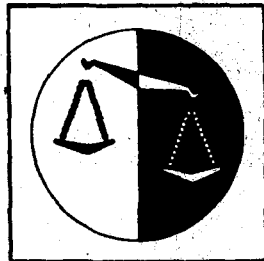
The report's contention was that in Beirut the Marines' exposure to terrorism was the result of a policy in which "an emphasis on military options and the expansion of the U.S. military role" had taken place, "notwithstanding the fact that the conditions upon which the security of the USMNF were based continued to deteriorate as progress toward a diplomatic solution was slowed."

In response to the report, several key House and Senate members are voicing reservations about the Marines' presence. House Speaker O'Neill, who championed the 18-month extension of the Marines' stay last September, announced after a January 3 meeting of his Mideast policy monitoring group that if the administration shows no diplomatic progress in the next week, it can expect sharp congressional debate when Congress returns on January 23. "I am saying to the president: those of us who supported the policy must see some action, because we can no longer go with the status quo," O'Neill said at a press conference after the group's meeting.

Republican Sen. Charles Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, announced that his committee would hold hearings this week on the Marines' continued presence. Percy, who also supported the president's policy last fall, said that he wanted the Marines to be removed "from hostilities."

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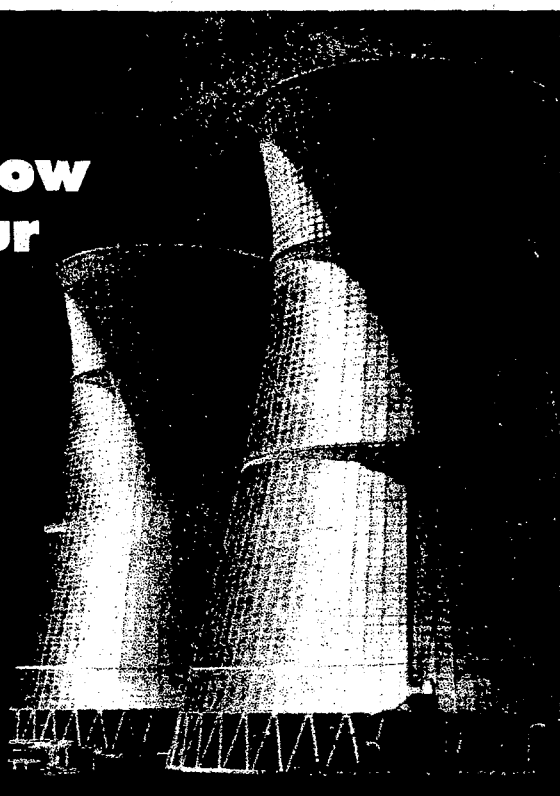
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## STEEL CLOSINGS

## Monopoly's inevitable legacy

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

**T**WO DAYS AFTER CHRISTMAS U.S. Steel played a perverse Santa to its employees: 15,436 jobs were eliminated as all or large parts of many of its steel mills and fabrication plants were slated for closing in a few months.

Although the steel industry can expect to share some in economic recovery this year, the past two years have been dreadful. Steelmakers lost \$5.2 billion; at one point only 30 percent of steelmaking capacity was being used; and more than 150,000 steelworkers lost their jobs, most of them never to return to the mills again.

Despite the long list of steel factories closed since 1977, U.S. Steel's announcement will not be the last. More closings are expected with the anticipated merger of LTV (which purchased Jones & Laughlin Steel) and Republic Steel. Even U.S. Steel is likely to close more within the next few years.

The problems seem new as the industry undergoes precipitous job loss and dislocation comparable to the sudden halving of coal mining employment in the '50s. But they actually date all the way to 1901, when financier J.P. Morgan and Judge Elbert Gary, the company's first president, put together U.S. Steel, a "trust" that controlled 65 percent of American steel production.

Although its share declined, the domination of U.S. Steel set the oligopolistic tone for the rest of the century. Judge Gary's private steel baron dinners, where prices were fixed, gave way to a slightly less blatant pattern of "price leadership" by U.S. Steel and a "Pittsburgh-plus-freight" system of nationwide price standardization. Steel prices always went up to maintain profits, whatever the course of the rest of the economy.

As expert observers said even in the '30s, the steel companies, especially U.S. Steel, grew lazy and arrogant, following Andrew Carnegie's maxim that "innovation don't pay." Little has changed. In a recent *Fortune* survey of business executives about what companies they respected, U.S. Steel (whose main activity was now listed as petroleum refining, reflecting its acquisition of Marathon Oil) ranked near the bottom.

Decades of monopoly practice led U.S. Steel in particular to ignore customers' special needs, minimize attention to quality, develop its mills haphazardly and, worst of all, fail to keep up with—let alone take the lead in—new steelmaking technology. But it benefitted, like the rest of the steel industry, from a skilled workforce that managed, despite such disadvantages, to surpass productivity of all other steel industries until the Japanese pulled slightly ahead a few years ago. Now those steelworkers are out of luck and out of jobs as international competition picked up, changes in shipping, ore and labor costs favored newer overseas mills and monopoly profits disappeared. This past year 22 percent of steel purchases went to foreign competitors.

But the biggest problem facing the industry and hurting those workers is not the foreign steelmakers as much as it is the sluggish performance of the U.S. economy and the failure of the federal and state governments to maintain roads, bridges, sewers, transit systems and railroads and of private manufacturers to expand and modernize their own capital stock.

Hans Mueller, a leading academic expert on the steel industry, said U.S. Steel's Christmas shutdowns came "about 25 years too late" (many of the mills should have been replaced earlier and more gradually). But, he added, if the needed public and private infrastructure expenditures were being made, "then it would



Chicago steelworkers picket a May, 1983, U.S. Steel shareholders' meeting.

have been a mistake."

With negotiated restraints on European steel and "voluntary" restraints by the Japanese, there was a sudden surge earlier this year in imports from newly industrializing countries like Brazil and South Korea. U.S. bankers, who have financed those mills, at times with guarantees and subsidies by the U.S. government, want to see those imports continue to protect their loans.

U.S. Steel dropped its controversial plan to import slabs of steel from British Steel Corporation to finish in its Fairless Works in Pennsylvania, which would have closed steelmaking facilities there. But other companies are importing semi-finished slabs and U.S. Steel may eventually join them.

**The real problem.**

The world steel industry has much more capacity than there is demand, and European industries, like the American, have been cutting back drastically. Although some European governments have constrained layoffs or provided temporary subsidies that encourage exports at lower costs to minimize losses, many experts believe the problem is less one of illegal "dumping" and more one of aggressive price-cutting in a glutted market. But subsidies have clearly been important in Third World steel, and in any case the steel industry internationally is so influenced by political needs that it is illusory to talk about a "free market." Political negotiations over trade are inevitable and necessary.

But one of the biggest threats to the large, integrated (from ore to finished product) steel companies comes from right at home. The so-called "mini-

**It is increasingly clear that the U.S. steel industry will shrink drastically without government intervention.**

mills," many of which are quite large and some foreign-owned, mainly use electric furnaces to make steel from scrap. They have taken over 20 percent of the market, partly because they are cheap to build, efficient to operate, close to their markets and almost entirely non-union, which means wages are lower and work rules non-existent.

For several years U.S. Steel had promised to build a new rail mill at Chicago's

South Works that would keep furnaces going. Two years ago, under pressure that the company had to start construction immediately or would shutter the mill, workers reluctantly agreed to a new plan for maintenance work, seniority and other rules that gave the company a free hand. Then U.S. Steel demanded delays on pollution control and special tax exemptions, which it got. Finally, there was an offer of financial aid from the city of Chicago.

But U.S. Steel still didn't build the mill. Recently the company approached workers, as it did at other plants, with further demands for concessions—elimination of Sunday premiums and overtime pay for over eight hours, changes in seniority, subcontracting of all maintenance (eliminating at least 300 of 1,000 jobs remaining at a mill that once employed 18,000) and cuts in pay and benefits.

This time U.S. Steel was roundly rebuffed. "You can only kick people so much," union griever Ike Mezo said. "The members had been screwed, lied to, insulted. You had a proud group of guys, and they learned you can keep giving and giving, and they'll keep treating you like shit."

Also, most workers shared grievance chairman Mike Ally's conclusion: "If we'd made the concessions, they still wouldn't have built the rail mill. There's just no demand for rails." Two other modern rail mills and a 20 percent share held by imports contend for a market that has plummeted as recession and especially a depressed coal industry cut rail demand. U.S. Steel publicly blamed the union, but even Chicago newspaper and business magazine editorialists condemned U.S. Steel and sympathized with workers' rejection of concessions.

Continued on page 11

## New film offers case study of steel's decline

*The Business of America...*, a 45-minute documentary, premiered on the day U.S. Steel announced the shutdown of a fifth of its steel production. The timing was perfect.

Not that this is a movie "about" steel, or even "about" shutdowns, although its subject matter is U.S. Steel's shutdown of its Homestead, Pa., plant. It's about belief—its shattering and rebirth. This is a movie about the American dream as lived by America's steelworkers.

What makes *The Business of America* distinctive is not just its unobtrusive high quality or its mix of immediate drama and substantiated argument. More fundamentally, it is concerned with ideology—specifically, the question of who should control capital.

As the film opens on a Sunday mass in Homestead, a priest states the problem from the pulpit: "We trusted," he says, "in the smartness of our industrial leaders..." Then we are introduced to Paul and Maureen, a couple who spent their lives working in the Homestead mill, trusting in their version of "the American dream." Anybody, Paul always believed, could have what they wanted if they were willing to work for it.

An efficient historical survey then shows why they could believe that. The impressive growth of American steel's productivity over the century laid the base for workers' demands for decent pay and an eight-hour day, won through hard struggle. An ensuing pact between workers and managers has now broken down, and so has the steelworkers' faith in it, as they stand in food lines.

After the filmmakers show that foreign countries have taken the R&D lead irrevocably from American steel, they give the managers' reasons why. U.S. Steel President David Roderick blames government regulation, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (in an unintentionally hilarious advertisement) blames American workers' lack of faith in "profits." Wall Street brokers argue that since U.S. Steel makes money, not

girders, it has to follow short-term profits. And that means not investing in tired steel works but in buying up other companies like Marathon Oil.

Meanwhile, the average wage in the U.S. has fallen 16 percent in a decade, and steelworkers are looking for new solutions. USWA local leader Ron Weisen organizes local workers to demonstrate at corporate headquarters, and activist Staughton Lynd talks community control of work life. The formerly complacent Paul and Maureen express their indignation as well as their discovery of new strength. "We are U.S. Steel," says Maureen. "We make it. We don't need 'em."

Their enthusiasm may be premature, the filmmakers suggest. Homestead workers failed to buy their own plant, just as a plan in Ohio to establish a factory to build "fast trains" failed. Undeniable, however, is the workers' change of attitude, their new faith in themselves.

Veterans of '60s activism in the 16-mm branch of the New Left, the three-member California Newsreel collective made the film.

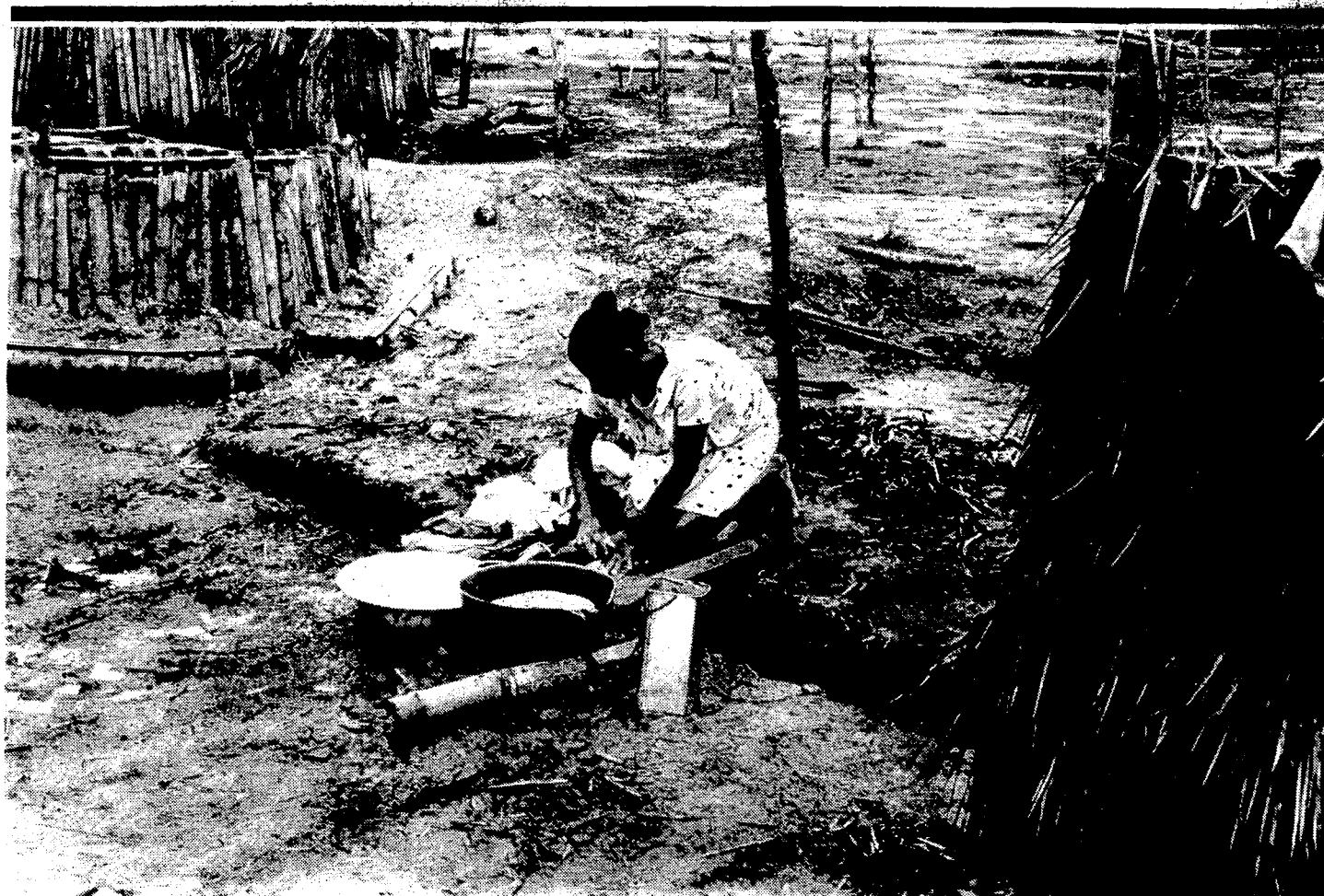
The filmmakers were surprised that they wound up making a populist film. "We personally think the problem of productivity is more complex than the answers that the Homestead workers have," says Daressa. For instance, "we might propose considering legislation that forces management to use tax breaks for reinvestment, or co-ownership programs. But maybe it's because these people came out of a 'can-do,' self-help ethic that, when they faced a crisis, they turned to a more direct populist solution."

*The Business of America* is available on film and videocassette at California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196. A version of the film, which was sponsored in part by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting's Crisis to Crisis series, will appear in May on public television stations.

—Pat Aufderheide



# IN THE WORLD



The Sandinistas and the U.S.-financed contras continue to battle for the loyalty of approximately 70,000 Miskitos.

## NICARAGUA

# Amnesty hinders contra recruiting

By Beth Stephens & Maggi Popkin

PUERTO CABEZAS, NICARAGUA

**W**HEN CATHOLIC BISHOP Salvador Schläfer joined 1,000 Miskito Indians recently on a four-day trek from their village near Nicaragua's Atlantic coast through the mountains to Honduras, he handed the U.S. government and the U.S.-funded Nicaraguan counterrevolution a perfectly packaged weapon for the propaganda war against the Sandinista government.

Comparing Schläfer to "Moses leading his people to freedom," the anti-Sandinista Archbishop of Managua Miguel Obando y Bravo, used the occasion to repeat his charges that the Nicaraguan government has created a Marxist-Leninist totalitarian state. The bishop claims he and most of the villagers left voluntarily, under the protection of Miskito guards, to seek refuge in Honduras.

But Sandinista leaders charge that the "exodus" was a set-up media event, and that counterrevolutionaries forced Miskito villagers to join through intimidation, stories about purported Sandinista massacres and fanciful tales about the paradise awaiting them in Honduras. The early departure was sparked by sounds of fighting outside the village of Francia Sirpe, apparently faked by the counterrevolutionaries—who told the villagers that all roads from the village were mined and that their only choice was to head north.

U.S. involvement added weight to charges that the march was a publicity stunt. U.S. embassy officials in Managua received regular progress reports during the group's trek through the mountains and U.S. representatives talked at length to the bishop as soon as he arrived in Honduran territory.

The timing of the action suggests that it was planned in response to recent Nicaraguan peace initiatives designed to ease Atlantic coast tensions. On December 1,

the government freed all Miskitos jailed for counterrevolutionary activities and offered an amnesty to Miskitos who had joined counterrevolutionary (*contra*) forces in Honduras. Atlantic coast leaders stressed that the Miskito amnesty reflects the government's confidence, both in the strength of its support and its military control of the region.

"People say the government declared the amnesty because of blackmail, because Reagan pressured them into it," said the pastor of the Moravian Church, a major social institution in the Miskito region. "But in truth, it's a recognition of strength, an act of revolutionary generosity."

Both the bishop's journey and the return of the released Miskitos to war-ravaged and uprooted villages reflect the turmoil raging in Zelaya Norte, the northern Atlantic coast region where the Sandinista government and U.S.-financed *contras* continue to battle for the loyalty of approximately 70,000 Miskito Indians.

The Miskitos, along with some 5,000 Sumu and Rama Indians (altogether about 4 percent of Nicaragua's population) have lived for decades in tiny fishing and farming villages scattered throughout the Atlantic coast provinces that make up about half of Nicaragua's land area. Isolated from the rest of the country both by separate languages and by geography—the first road connecting the two coasts was completed only last year—the Miskitos were barely touched by the revolution that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

Centuries of exploitation by U.S. and British companies depleted the once-rich area, especially its pine forests and gold deposits, and left behind "only disease, misery and pollution," said one government spokesman. The Somoza dictatorship ignored the Miskitos, who eked out their subsistence from fishing and agriculture, with occasional work in U.S.-owned mines and saw mills. Today, thousands of Miskitos suffer from lung disease, malnutrition and other poverty-re-

lated illnesses.

The Sandinista government is trying to change this pattern of oppression and neglect, combining health, education and social service programs with an ambitious reforestation project, new industry and increased cultivation of basic grains. But these efforts are hampered by the utter isolation of Miskito villages that are often connected only by paths and rivers, and may be several day's travel apart.

Outside Puerto Cabezas, the urban center of Zelaya Norte where nearly one-third of the population lives, electricity is rare and telephones non-existent. Boats and vehicles are scarce and growing scarcer because of *contra* attacks. The villagers' isolation has greatly increased as *contra* activity has spread throughout the region, making travel dangerous as well as difficult.

Sandinista leaders acknowledge they made errors when they arrived at the Atlantic coast after the July 1979 triumph. These early mistakes—failing to perceive that many Miskitos saw the Spanish-speaking Sandinistas as outsiders interfering in their culture and lifestyle—combined with the Miskitos' isolation and low level of literacy before the triumph made the Miskito people a fertile recruiting ground for U.S.-funded counterrevo-

## What the Miskito people now want to see from the government is development aid, says one leader.

lutionary forces. Manipulation of the Miskitos became a key element in efforts to destabilize the Sandinista government. The turning point came in 1981, when Miskito leader Steadman Fagoth bolted from the government and began to cultivate U.S. sponsorship for an armed rebellion from exile in Honduras.

Since 1981, the *contras* on the Atlantic coast have been waging a military and ideological war against the Nicaraguan government, with the main victims being the Miskitos. Tens of thousands have been relocated because of the fighting—to new Sandinista settlements, to *contra* camps in Honduras and to the hills to escape the fighting. These dislocations have

led to illness and death. And thousands have had relatives kidnapped, while hard-won progress has been destroyed by *contra* attacks.

### Trusting the Sandinistas.

In areas where the *contras* have sought support from the traditionally hospitable Miskitos, the villagers have sometimes suffered the effects of Sandinista counter-offensives. Hundreds were arrested for counterrevolutionary activities in 1981 and 1982, while others were killed in the fighting. In some areas, arrests and deaths have left a legacy of mistrust that hampers government and Miskito efforts to work together. But even Miskito leaders who have been critical of the government in the past now say they trust the Sandinistas' intentions and that with a period of peace the problems could be resolved. All agree that *contra* presence has made it difficult to initiate the kind of development and education programs that have been successful in other parts of the country.

What the Miskito people want to see, says Owen Hodgson, an Atlantic coast lawyer critical of the government in the past, is development aid—economic projects, health care, education. Hodgson believes that many of the Miskitos fighting with the *contras*, as well as those who have fled to Honduras (estimated at 10,000-20,000), would like to return to their homes. "If they see a good chance to come back to work, to develop their land, and if the government doesn't keep giving the *contras* errors to exploit, the Miskitos won't continue to fight," he said.

The government is pinning much of its hope for change on the persuasive power of its largest and most successful development project, Tasba Pri, where 10,000 Miskitos were resettled after heavy fighting around their villages on the Honduras border in December 1981. The controversial relocation of more than 40 small fishing villages along the Rio Coco initially met widespread criticism. Though the *contras* and their supporters used the Rio Coco relocation as the basis for charges of genocide, investigations by independent human rights groups subsequently have cleared the Sandinista government.

But now, two years after the relocation, Tasba Pri residents speak proudly of their successful rice harvest, which has allowed them to pay off government loans and market rice in other communities. They also mention improvements in health care, education and housing.

Miskito leaders plan to form a Miskito organization to work with the government. No such group has existed since Fagoth left the country. Given a period of peace, they believe they could bring similarly dramatic improvements to the lives of Miskitos still scattered in dirt-poor villages throughout the region.

Despite the improvements at Tasba Pri, many residents want to return to their former villages on the Rio Coco, the center of Miskito culture. The Sandinista government has pledged to help them in returning once the fighting stops.

### No bitterness.

The village of Waltasixa, a four-hour boat ride down the coast from Puerto Cabezas, lies in one of the hardest hit areas. Elias Hills, one of the Miskito Indians released in the December amnesty, arrived back in Waltasixa in mid-December to find that a *contra* attack two months earlier had destroyed fuel tanks for the few industries operating in Zelaya Norte. As a result, the saw mill where he worked is closed indefinitely.

Hills also discovered that his family had been hiding in the mountains for more than a month. While they were away, all the houses in the village were sacked. "Wiped clean," Hills said, pointing to shelves bare of dishes and clothes and to a destroyed sewing machine.

Despite the bleak conditions to which he has returned, Hills said he is ready to accept the government's amnesty without bitterness and is anxious for a new start.

Many ex-prisoners appear to share this attitude. "The amnesty covers both sides: the government forgives us and we for-

Continued on facing page



Continued from facing page

give the government," says Higinio Morazan Dixon, a 47-year-old Moravian pastor.

Sandinista soldiers taking released prisoners home show an equal willingness to work with the very people who had fought against them as little as two months earlier.

Rafael Zuniga, another former prisoner, rejoined his family in the fishing village of Waunta in mid-December. At that time, his family still had not been allowed to return to their home village, which was at the center of the October fighting. His children were sick after their one-month stay in the mountains, and he had been told that his home had been completely sacked. Nonetheless, he was optimistic about the future, a firm Sandinista supporter after 14 months in prison.

"Prison was a school," he said. "Now I understand what the revolution means, and what it can do for us." After three days, Zuniga had already called a meeting of the 250 town residents to tell them about the revolution.

"The Sandinistas here now are good people," Zuniga said. "They're going to work with us." Gesturing at the stinking swamp that surrounds the village, he said proudly, "With their help, we can make this place beautiful in two years."

Government officials don't expect that all released prisoners will be so willing to forget the past. One official estimated that at least 20 percent will go over to the *contras* immediately. But officials say the

risk is worth taking in return for the goodwill fostered by the release and for the testimony of people like Zuniga, who have become organizers for the revolution. They also say it is a question of justice, since the government believes the Miskitos were duped into joining the *contras*.

Although the amnesty had been in the works for many months, the October fighting, which cleared a large part of the region of *contras*, was a factor in the decree's timing. The *contras'* departure has also enabled the government to send representatives to work with villagers for the first time in more than a year.

A sense of hope for the future, despite present difficulties, can be felt in the new settlement of Sangilaya, a two-hour jeep ride north of Puerto Cabezas. The new residents, gathered from nine small communities along the numerous ones that crisscross Zelaya Norte, have been in Sangilaya only two months. In December they were living in makeshift houses while they cleared land for farming and tried to adjust to their new life. Most seemed still in shock after the move. Miskito Hitolito Amilcar Lopez said many are suffering from nervous disorders caused by the move.

Government officials say that the Miskitos were moved because their scattered villages could not be protected from *contra* attacks. Although residence in all new settlements is voluntary, departure from the endangered villages was mandatory and villagers are not free to return while the fighting continues. Many say they

don't understand why they had to leave.

The Sandinistas claim that the situation has been explained repeatedly, but that the villagers are still confused. "Many of these people have no education, no experience with the outside world," a young Sandinista soldier pointed out. "How can they possibly understand the international battle that is being waged for their support?"

The well-financed *contras*, with a powerful radio transmitter broadcasting in Miskito dialect, have played upon this Miskito vulnerability. "They tell people that life is better in Honduras, that Reagan will make them all rich. They offer money for leaving. Then they scare them with stories about massacres by the Sandinistas," says Jose Guido Herrera, a Miskito who has lived his entire life in the hills toward the north of the Atlantic coast. Sadly, he described the April 1983 invasion of his hometown, Slimilila, which was an example of the confusion and deception. Hundreds of *contras* burnt part of the reforestation project, the village clinic and other buildings, and then left with more than 1,000 of the 1,500 residents. "Many went only by force. Many families were split and people died on the way" to refugee camps in Honduras, he said. "But some of the people were waiting for the *contras* to come. They had their bags packed and were ready to go."

Yet in most of the Atlantic coast, word has begun to filter back that life is not rosy in the Honduran refugee camps. And

according to government officials, recent attacks on Miskito communities are turning the tide against the *contras*. Miskito lawyer Julian Holmes said, "Now we don't expect anything from Reagan and the *contras* except destruction."

But as Bishop Schlaefter's odyssey demonstrates, the *contras* can still manipulate some villagers into flight. In areas where the Sandinistas have not yet been able to bring social services and development programs, the *contras'* money and sophisticated technology—applied by the U.S.—gave them a big advantage both in the propaganda war and on the military field. While the *contras* communicate easily with their chiefs in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital, soldiers in the isolated fishing and farming villages are unable to communicate with anyone. When a coastal village was attacked in October, it was three days before the news reached Puerto Cabezas.

Against the seemingly bottomless pit of U.S. dollars, the Sandinistas rely on their ability to organize and to deliver on their promises of a better life through the revolution. As more Miskitos are convinced that the key to their future lies in working together with the Nicaraguan government to develop their area—not in the *contras'* destruction and empty promises—they will deprive the U.S. of recruits for its war-by-proxy against Nicaragua.

**Beth Stephens is an American lawyer working in Nicaragua. Maggi Popkin, also a lawyer, recently returned from two months of research in Nicaragua.**

## Steel

Continued from page 9

The deep bitterness left at South Works—nearly matched in Gary, Ind.; Pittsburgh, Johnstown and Ambridge, Pa.; Lorain/Cuyahoga, Ohio, and other locations where major closings occurred—is also symptomatic of a continuing weakness of U.S. Steel: rotten labor relations. "Steel is entering into a high-tech era," Mueller said, "and you can't run those steel mills with hostile labor relations. You need more labor responsibility."

But many steelworkers believe U.S. Steel, leader in diversification, wants to get out of steel. They think, like many stock analysts who welcomed the closings, that steel companies are cutting capacity so that if a boom comes, markets will tighten, prices jump and profits soar.

Despite protection from imports, wage and benefit concessions worth \$3 billion last year (plus many local concessions as the companies pitted one mill against another), accelerated depreciation allowances, environmental protection delays and other assistance, the industry has not modernized. Much of the money spent has not been used efficiently, as mills have been partially modernized, then abandoned, like many facilities on U.S. Steel's Christmas list. Much of the money that could have been spent has instead gone to non-steel products. And even if it had all been used wisely and for steel, the amounts would have been insufficient, given the long delay in modernizing.

The American steel industry, with the exception of the past two years, has been

profitable, averaging around 7 percent return on investment. That is double or more the rate in Europe or Japan (although in Japan investment has come mainly from loans by banks that also hold much of the stock, and the total of interest plus profits exceeds U.S. returns). But it is less than half the average manufacturing profit in the U.S. and thus a bad capitalist investment.

It is increasingly clear that the U.S. industry will shrink drastically without government intervention. But the government aid so far—like the concessions workers have already made—has not saved jobs or modernized the industry.

The Tri-State Conference on Steel, a labor-community-church coalition based in Pittsburgh, has advocated establishment of a Steel Valley Authority—modeled in part on the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) or Conrail—that would have the power of eminent domain to take over steel facilities threatened with abandonment and create a modern, consolidated industry. With federal funds, but under local, democratic control, the Authority would build new raw steelmaking furnaces that would serve specialized finishing mills, some oriented toward materials for rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of the region. Similar authorities would be established elsewhere, such as the West Coast.

Although the Mon Valley plan might cost more than \$20 billion and like any modernization plan would still mean fewer jobs than in the recent past, it would guarantee that the money was actually spent for steel modernization. With a full "public balance sheet" accounting, it might seem a bargain. Now there is a loss from unemployment and a depressed lo-

cal economy. Also, instead of giving U.S. Steel \$1.2 billion in inflated tax write-offs for its recent shutdowns, the federal government could have bought the facilities at very fair market prices for under \$200 billion, Mueller estimated.

No plan can stop the loss of steel jobs entirely. But few would work worse than the present practice of relying on corporate management with a track record of nearly 80 years of oligopoly, incompetence and irresponsibility.

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### November

**6**  
**1945**—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."

**1968**—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearle: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."

**1976**—Disclosure of Operation Shamrock: since 1947, RCA Global, ITT World and Western Union International have made international telegraph traffic available to the NSA.



SANTA BARBARA, CA.

**A**FTER UNITED FARM WORKER supporter Rene Lopez cast his ballot in the union representation election September 19 at the striking Sikema dairy farm near Fresno, Calif., he went home to await the results. But he never learned the union's fate. That afternoon, Lopez was called out of his house by two men and shot in the head. He died two days later in a Fresno hospital, the fifth union supporter killed in two decades of organizing.

Although two strikebreakers have been charged with Lopez' murder, United Farm Workers (UFW) President Cesar Chavez made clear that he believes others share the blame. "This incident is the direct result of the actions of [Republican Governor George] Deukmejian in cutting back the funds of the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) and his direct way of saying we're not going to enforce

the law," Chavez said.

Deukmejian's recent 27 percent cut in funding to the ALRB, which enforces the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA)—the state's collective bargaining law for farmworkers—means that instead of four election observers from the ALRB, as in the past, there are now only two. Lopez' death stands as a commentary on the state of the ALRA, which was intended to "stop violence in the fields." The union charges that additional observers might have helped curb the violence.

In addition, Deukmejian's appointment of David Stirling, an anti-labor attorney, as ALRB general counsel means that fewer unfair labor practice complaints have been issued. More than 90 percent of the complaints are issued against growers.

Without strong enforcement of the collective bargaining law, the growers have little incentive to sign contracts and to follow election regulations, Chavez charges. "Unless the growers are made to

pay for the consequences of their actions, the killing of farmworkers will not stop."

Deukmejian's November 1982 election has created new challenges for the UFW. For eight years, Gov. Jerry Brown was a reliable ally, pushing through the 1975 ALRA, which gave farmworkers collective bargaining rights for the first time. (Farmworkers had been excluded from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act.) Brown also protected the law from grower-inspired attempts to weaken it in the state legislature.

There are still solid Democratic majorities in both state houses, partly the result of UFW efforts in the election, and this will help safeguard the ALRA from major changes. The union contributed \$750,000 to key legislative races and helped with get-out-the-vote efforts. But, unable to repeal or change the ALRA, Deukmejian has effectively crippled its enforcement through control of the budget and appointments.

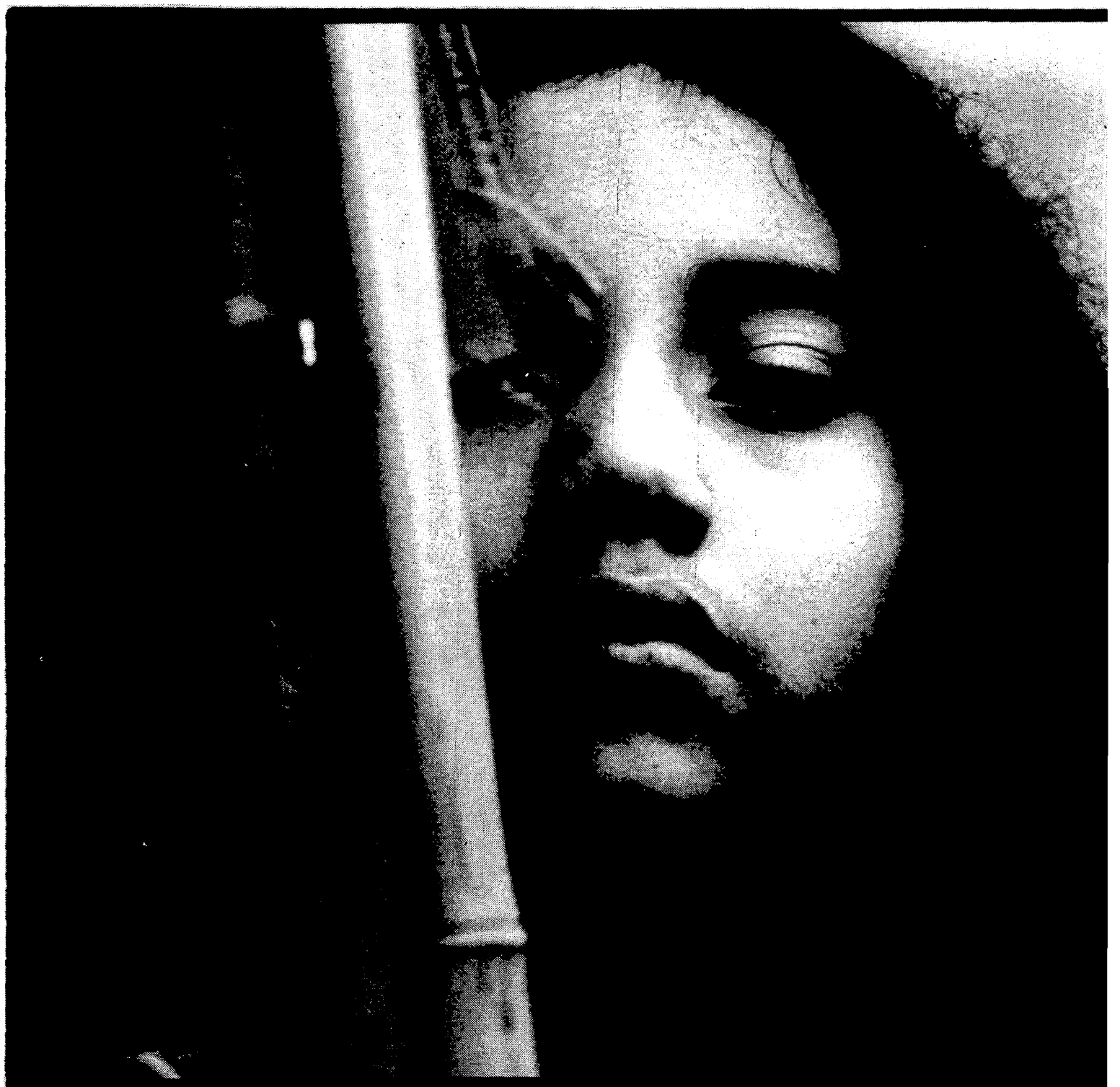
The ALRB rules on contested union

elections, charges of unfair labor practices and bad faith bargaining. The general counsel has the power to decide which charges will be certified as complaints and sent through the legal process. "Appointing David Stirling as general counsel of the ALRB is like appointing James Watt head of the Interior Department," Chavez told delegates to the union's convention September 4.

Of the almost 1,000 charges received by the ALRB this year, fewer than 40 have been certified as complaints by Stirling, and most have not even been looked at. The backlog of cases has doubled, and the current 18-24 month period for resolutions will double under Deukmejian's administration, critics say. And workers have received none of the \$43 million in back pay owed them for bad-faith bargaining.

"Until there is a history of being forced to pay up, there is an incentive to violate the law," UFW lawyer Diana Lyons explained. In a case Lyons is working on, workers at J.R. Norton Co. voted for

Photograph: SCOTT VAN OSDOL



Photograph: NICK ALLEN



By John Raymond

# Harvest Of Disappointment

California farmworkers are not reaping all the benefits of their union victories, so the UFW is back to boycotts.



UFW representation in 1975, yet still do not have a contract and are owed \$6 million in back pay for bad-faith bargaining. Stirling refuses to take the company to court to force them to pay up.

Lyons estimated that if all backlogged cases before the ALRB were resolved, union membership would increase 30 to 50 percent over the current membership of 107,000 workers.

Chavez' conclusion is blunt. "The legal process that was opened to farmworkers in 1975 has now been closed," he told the UFW convention. "If the growers and Deukmejian want to close the law off to us, then let us again use our most effective weapon, the boycott, and see how they like it. That's the most effective way to enforce the law, to force growers back to the law, and that's how we got the law in the first place."

The tactic that brought the UFW to national attention may once again become the union's primary weapon. The boycotts of lettuce, grapes and Gallo wine

forced the growers and the supermarkets to accept a collective bargaining law. The return to the boycott represents a break in the implicit understanding between growers and the union made with the passage of the ALRB: in return for legal organizing rights, the union would not use the boycott as its principal weapon. "We surrendered our most important weapon," Chavez said.

The first target of the new boycott will be Lucky Stores. The boycott stems from refusal of the Bruce Church Company, one of the remaining holdouts from the 1979 lettuce strike, to sign a contract with the UFW. Lucky is the largest carrier of Bruce Church lettuce, marked under the Red Coach label. A traditional boycott using picketing and community organizing has cut the sale of Red Coach lettuce in half, the union says. But it has not yet forced a contract out of Bruce Church, nor seriously hurt Lucky's, the third largest supermarket chain in the country.

The union is currently planning new

tactics for the Lucky boycott—a computerized, direct-mail campaign to Lucky shoppers and union supporters as well as a mass media ad campaign to "unsell" Lucky Stores and Red Coach lettuce.

"We cannot run the boycott in the '80s with the tactics of the '60s. We have to use the revolution in technology," Chavez said, explaining the new "high-tech" boycott. The union also recognizes that it was the constant media attention in the '60s that helped spread the boycott.

Although the campaign to "unsell" Lucky's through TV ads has run into a brick wall, a trial direct mail campaign was more successful. A June test survey of consumers in 15 California areas served by Lucky's found that of the nearly half the people who remembered the mailing, 43 percent of Lucky's shoppers had stopped buying Red Coach lettuce and 21 percent had stopped shopping at Lucky's.

Out of the total sample, 11 percent had changed their shopping habits, a figure comparable to the 12 percent of Ameri-

cans (17 million people) who boycotted grapes in the '60s. And the direct-mail campaign will soon be expanded to Lucky stores' regional subsidiaries: Gemco, Eagles, Kash n'Karry and Stop n'Shop.

Although the direct-mail campaign takes a smaller expenditure of time and staff than traditional boycott tactics, it is not cheap. A million dollars has been budgeted for the two-year campaign, begun in May—a large sum for a union with an annual budget of under \$4 million. The payoff for the union will be showing their economic power to the growers, an experiment that other unions are watching closely.

The Lucky's campaign is only the first of a number of boycotts designed to force recalcitrant growers to the bargaining table and to force the state to return to an effective legal process. In addition to a national campaign, the computerized direct mail operation can also run up to 10 regional boycotts, often all that is needed

*Continued on page 22*

## Farmworker fight moves to other states

union "right-to-work" laws.

In Texas, after five years of organizing, no contracts have been signed, yet organizing efforts remain strong as the political climate changes for the better. The November 1982 election of a moderate Democratic governor and several moderate state officials and legislators as well as left-leaning state lands and agricultural commissioners Gary Mauro and Jim Hightower, who have a direct say in farm labor matters, gives Texas farmworkers reason for optimism. Much of the credit for these victories goes to the UFW and the Hispanic vote of south Texas, where the state's farm labor is concentrated. "South Texas is a monolithic Democratic vote—if they get behind them, they are assured of winning," said Rebecca Harrington, the UFW's main organizer in Texas.

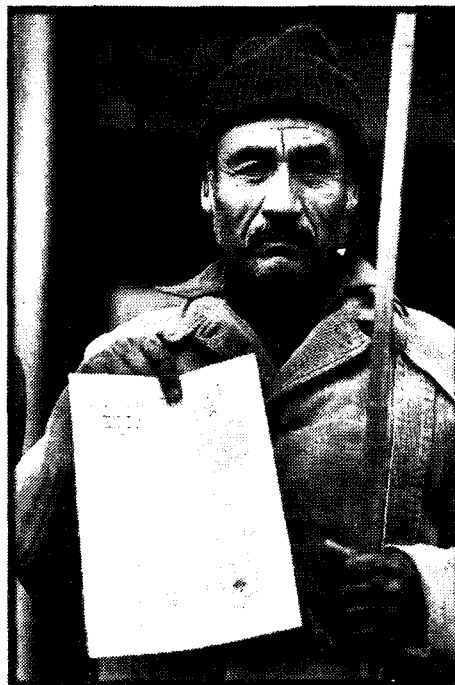
The support may pay off with passage of a workers' compensation law for farmworkers in the near future. Although the short-handled hoe, which causes permanent back injuries, was outlawed two years ago, growers have subverted the law by forcing workers to use knives. Stoop labor laws are another legislative priority. "We're moving gradually toward legislation like [California's] Agricultural Labor Relations Act," UFW lawyer Barbara Macri said.

Arizona's Agricultural Employees Relations Board, set up to hamper farmworker organizing efforts, was struck down as unconstitutional in federal court early last year because of its bias toward growers. The ruling calls into question other decisions by the board that have hampered organizing efforts. Although the situation in Texas and elsewhere shows this victory to be somewhat hollow, the UFW succeeded in March 1983 in getting the short-handled hoe banned in Arizona as well.

Organizing by the UFW is complicated by the existence of the rival Arizona Farm Workers, which claims to have 10,000 workers under contract. The AFW charges that the UFW has organized few workers in Arizona and has been inconsistent in its organizing efforts, pulling out when the situation in California demanded its attention.

In the Midwest, FLOC has continued a boycott against Campbell's products for four years to try to get a contract for 2,000 Ohio tomato pickers who walked

off their jobs in 1979, demanding \$3.50 an hour. In the past eight months, FLOC has escalated its boycott efforts, deploying staff workers to Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. In August, FLOC conducted a 530-mile march from Toledo, Ohio, to Campbell's headquarters in Camden, N.J., to bring attention to its efforts. Products being boycotted include Campbell soups, V-8 juice, Vlasic pickles, Franco-American, Pepperidge Farms and Swanson's Frozen Dinners. For a complete list, contact FLOC, 714½ S. St. Clair, Toledo, Ohio 43609. ■



Photograph: SCOTT VAN OSDOL

**I**F THE UFW IS FACING DIFFICULT times in California, the situation is even harder in other states where there are no collective bargaining rights for farmworkers. Yet considerable progress has been made in the last few years with UFW organizing efforts in Texas, Florida and Arizona and with the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) in the Midwest. The dream of a national farmworkers union is slowly becoming a realistic hope.

The UFW has been organizing in Florida for more than 10 years and has had a contract with Coca-Cola since 1972 for Minutemaids orange grove workers—a contract "extended through threat of a boycott," UFW lawyer Diana Lyons said. But additional contracts have been hard to get, and Florida, like Texas and Arizona, has anti-



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## SOVIET MODERATION

LOUIS MENASHE'S ARGUMENT against the notion of a supposed Soviet threat (*ITT*, Dec. 7, 1983) would have been stronger had he not limited his examples of pull-out of their troops to the two cases of Iran in 1946 and Austria in 1955.

The beginning of the end of my first academic career came in consequence of a letter I wrote to the *Stanford Daily* on that subject. I was a Fellow of the Hoover Institution when the Cold War was launched. My letter, published April 9, 1947, read:

"The extension of Soviet frontiers ended 20 months ago.... Everywhere along their perimeter they have been withdrawn, although no power on earth could have forced them to do so against their will, short of full-fledged war by us.

"Here is the record: complete withdrawal from Norway, Danish Bornholm Island, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Iran. Withdrawal from Finland and Manchuria except for one naval base city in each case...partial withdrawal from Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary."

Subsequently the USSR gave up the naval bases in Finland and China and withdrew completely from Bulgaria, Rumania, Austria and Korea. This made complete withdrawal from 11 countries. Of these they returned to one, Czechoslovakia, 23 years after leaving. When that occurred, I opposed it, and said so repeatedly, for years, on my Pacifica Foundation station broadcasts. Much later I concluded that it was only that action that caused Willy Brandt to realize that there was no hope for reversal of the situation in East Europe and to sign peace treaties with Czechoslovakia, Poland and the USSR ending the neither-peace-nor-war situation that endured for nearly a quarter century after World War II. Brandt then collaborated with Brezhnev to bring about the Helsinki Conference, where all Europe, plus the U.S., pledged no attempt to change the postwar boundaries by force.

—William M. Mandel  
Berkeley, Calif.

## FOREIGN POLICY

I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN PROUD TO CONSIDER myself an American socialist. Therefore, I believe in establishing political priorities and allocating resources in the most efficient way in order to achieve such democratically arrived at objectives. I believe in the ultimate nationalization of major American industry and the direct participation of worker representatives in the setting of policy and the implementation of such policy at the highest levels of corporate decision-making.

What I find disturbing is *In These Times*' preoccupation with seeking out every nit-picking fault with American foreign policy. What, for example, is wrong with our alliance with Israel and our confrontation with Syria? Does Syrian foreign policy allow for any other reasonable alternative? Would your writers recommend the reverse? What is wrong with our priority to defend ourselves against the Soviet Union, headed, it seems to me, by an irresponsible government that can better be described as

fascist rather than socialist? Where is your newspaper's insistence on the kinds of mass demonstrations in the USSR that have already occurred in the West against nuclear weapons deployment? Why must we in the West be more understanding of the Soviet Union's paranoia regarding their military defense than they are of our concerns vis-a-vis what the Chinese rightfully describe as Soviet hegemonic designs?

It seems to me that it is the epitome of deceit and cowardice to demonstrate *en masse* where one is free of any retributive punishment and to avoid such demonstrations where one knows that heads will be cracked. To indulge in self-flagellation does not seem to me to be an exercise in intelligently applied political pressure. This is especially true when the Sakharovs of the Soviet Union languish in domestic exile and their Scharanskys and Begins suffer from an endemic Slavic version of anti-Semitic crudity.

—Gerald H. Evans  
Rochester, N.Y.

## NEO-GENTILITY

LESTER RODNEY'S COMPLAINTS (*ITT*, Dec. 21, 1983) about cultural sectarianism go double for Pat Aufderheide's commentary on TV. The "monster child of an American tradition in popular entertainment," television in her view is so obviously tawdry, so co-optive of any effective social criticism, that "most of us" can "dismiss or scorn it." Where have we heard this style of condescension before, was it in the *Daily Worker* or Matthew Arnold? And what does this conclusion make the majority of *ITT* readers (to say nothing of the American people, most especially the minorities and poor) who keep on watching—a bunch of brain-fogged idiots?

Enough neo-gentility. As TV critic David Marc says, "A modern-day Whitman would have to watch television or else be forced to give up his connection to the masses of people who find their wishes, dreams and role models therein." Any analysis that writes out the manifest contradictions also gives up on the consciousness of the watchers, except as benumbed drones who (as in the worst '30s Communist "proletarian literature" strike novels) suddenly wake up to the revolutionary imperative in the last chapter. Process doesn't work like that, as E.P. Thompson and other socialist historians have sought to explain; people gather and give clues from the subtle events of their lives. Todd Gitlin, who largely shares Aufderheide's pessimistic view of television, nevertheless becomes part of the drama of *Inside Prime Time* because he really cares about *Hill Street Blues*. I think he would have found more examples if he had looked hard; Aufderheide seems not to want us to look at all.

A medium that gave us Ernie Kovacs, Art Carney, Eve Arden, Audrey Meadows, Jean Stapleton, Lily Tomlin and John Belushi can't be all bad. Television continues to produce occasional marvels in spite of its management. And any season that brings not only *The Day After* but also the runaway shop drama *Heart of Steel*, the expose of the nuns' murder (and U.S. complicity) in El Salvador, *Choices of the Heart*, and Home Box Office's socko sci-fi drama about chemical-bacteriological warfare testing, *Endangered Species*, deserves intelligent criticism in *ITT*. You don't believe me? Ask Nicole Hollander, who

says in a recent *Village Voice* interview that watching TV is one of her favorite hobbies.

—Paul Buhle  
New York

## UNFETTERED

PAUL BERMAN'S LETTER (*ITT*, Dec. 21) is the voice of a barely controlled hysteria. Nevertheless, one fact clearly emerges from his disordered rant: this is the authoritarian mentality that seeks to suppress all opinion that does not square with his own. The editors of *ITT* are absolutely correct in publishing all sorts of views of interest to socialists and especially on the Mideast, where currently the drama of the world crisis is being played out—and this at a time of great ideological confusion, not only on the left but also in the ranks of Western capitalism. Only a wide-ranging, unfettered discussion, even under the random conditions in the letters columns, can begin to bring socialists, in these pages at least, closer to consensus.

"Can't the people," says Berman, "who regard Zionism and Nazism as somehow linked, and who in general bear heavy axes against the Jews, send their letters to journals that specialize in such opinions?" O.K., but write to *them*, not to the editors of *ITT*, who may, in their benighted if well-intentioned way, not share Berman's fortunate direct access to Truth. Berman concludes, "There are many such journals, they have large circulations, and we would all, as democrats, defend to the death their right to exist." Two points: (1) Outside the nightmare landscape of his own mind, just who are these many and presumptive anti-Semitic large circulation journals? And (2) Why doesn't Berman extend to the hapless editors of *ITT* the same right to exist—"consistent with the general ethics of democratic socialism," of course—that he extends to these shadowy reactionary journals?

—Chalmers K. Stewart  
Oyster Bay, N.Y.

## MACHO

I AM A CHICANO ORGANIZER WORKING on broadening the freeze movement to include Latinos and working people in general. I noticed in your disarmament news brief (*ITT*, Dec. 7, 1983) a reference to "macho" win-language" of the present administration.

"Macho" has been construed by North Americans to mean the ultimate in male chauvinist/imperialist politics. Its true meaning is something quite different. *Un macho* is someone who, while he has his problems, is responsible. He is someone who cares for his community, his people.

Using such terms uncritically and unthinkingly can only serve to maintain the barriers and suspicions between Latinos and the North American left.

—Lisa Alvarado  
Chicago

## IMMATURE MODERATES

AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE NOV. 12, 1983, peace rally in Washington, D.C., I resent John Judis' comments about the march (*ITT*, Nov. 23, 1983).

Judis found a "far left" ambience at the event that we who stood in the freezing wind missed. But beyond that, Judis suggests that potential speakers like Rep. Pat Schroeder, Rep. Barbara Milkulski and several Catholic bishops declined to appear on the platform for fear of having to share it with "far left" speakers.

If this is true, it points to a striking lack of maturity and courage among the alleged "moderates." Supposedly, after all, Reps. Schroeder and Milkulski believe in democracy, free debate and political pluralism. Supposedly, they are concerned about the carnage that is occurring in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and on the Nicaraguan border.

Yet they have reportedly refused to speak at the rally because the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Workers Party peddled papers and "far leftists" were allowed to use the microphones?

This is absurd. It is also disgusting. At a time when Nicaragua is under siege and Guatemala and El Salvador are haunted by death squads, moderates are going to have to decide where they stand. Do they want to stand up and debate the war, even in the company of people they dislike, and risk being called "Commies" and "pinkos"? Or, in hopes of avoiding contamination from the "far left," do they want to give Ronald Reagan the silent consent that will allow him to continue with the bloodletting?

—Andy Feeney  
Washington

## GOD AND MORALITY

I HOPE I AM MISREADING HITCHENS' review of Harrington's book (*ITT*, Nov. 16), but it seems as though he agrees with the old Marxist attitude that all morality is a bourgeois fraud and that socialists therefore need have no moral scruples in their pursuit of power.

It is this cynical amorality that has contributed to the use of ex-Nazi thugs by the Leninist regimes of Eastern Europe and the use of torture, murder, psychiatric "treatment" and other outrages by "true" Marxist revolutionaries. Marxism thus becomes an ideological facade for oppressive regimes of militaristic, homophobic, male-chauvinist tyrants. This, too often, is the "really existing Marxism" of the USSR, central Europe and the Third World, in contrast to the Marxism of American seminar rooms. For the "true revolutionary," anything goes, and therefore everything goes, and truth and goodness come out of the mouth of a gun, that gun held by Pol Pot, or Haile Mengistu or General Hudson.

If we are to produce a better society with better people, we have to attend not only to bread-and-butter issues, but also to questions of morality, of character. Relations among the genders are moral questions. Race relations are moral questions. Redistribution of income is a moral question. Peace is a moral question. Need I go on? These are moral questions in addition to whatever else they are. If you purport to be a socialist and you do not treat me with any more concern and respect and fairness than the capitalists do, you are welcome to go to hell; yours is not the path to our salvation.

Let Hitchens also be reminded that god is merely a figure of speech. The struggle is not between people who think they believe in a god and people who think they do not. The struggle is between people who want the status quo and people who want something better. I am not going to reject solidarity with "Liberation Theology" Catholics if and when they struggle against tyranny and oppression simply because they cannot formulate their philosophy in accordance with my humanist (and, technically, atheist) faith.

—Laurence G. Wolf  
Cincinnati

*Christopher Hitchens replies: Laurence Wolf is quite right in fearing (or hoping) that he has misread me, and quite wrong in saying that "God is merely a figure of speech." The answer to his question at the end of the sixth sentence in his third paragraph is, therefore, "no."*

## CORRECTION

One title was inadvertently left out of Pat Aufderheide's list of important books of 1983 in the Dec. 21 issue: *The Empire's Old Clothes* by Ariel Dorfman.



# PERSPECTIVES

## An alternative to Reaganomics and corporate liberals

By Richard Flacks

**C**ONVENTIONAL WISDOM about economic and social policy says we have just two choices: it's either the free-marketeteers or the Keynesians. Thus once upon a time, the Keynesians ascended during the New Deal, promoting government spending to get us out of the Depression and into the prosperity of the post-World War II era. Sometime in the early '70s, though, Keynesian formulas became too inflationary and, in the nick of time, along came Ronald Reagan. His "supply-side" and "monetarist" policies were designed to get the government "off the backs" of private enterprise, reduce public spending and inflation and get the economy moving again. Sure enough, inflation has been halted, "recovery" is occurring and, if the millions of people who've been unemployed or have had their living standards cut in the process will just be patient, prosperity may be around some corner or other.

A new breed of economists, however, says there is a third way out of the country's economic stagnation—an alternative to both Reaganomics and old style "liberalism." One of the more creative of this breed is Derek Shearer, whose new book with economist Martin Carnoy, *A New Social Contract*, has just been published by Harper and Row.

Shearer is a member of the Santa Monica, Calif., Planning Commission. His wife, Ruth Yanatta Goldway, became mayor of Santa Monica in the electoral sweep by rent control advocates four years ago, only to lose her bid for re-election this past spring.

### The third way.

Shearer and Carnoy attribute economic stagnation to the control wielded over the economy by giant corporations and wealthy investors unresponsive to the needs of society. Their quest for maximum profits results in unproductive investment that destroys jobs and disrupts communities and that drains capital from the country. What is needed, they say, are policies that can channel investment toward productive activities that serve social needs—something that the market system cannot accomplish by itself.

Shearer argues that the U.S. is the only industrial society in which the government has refused an active role in directing investment. Americans are increasingly in awe of the economic success of countries like Japan and West Germany, but there is little public awareness that one key to their success has been these countries' governments' heavy involvement in the economy.

The new economists do not favor the kind of state capitalism that has developed in Japan, nor the state socialism in the Soviet bloc, however. What they are proposing is "economic democracy," a phrase that Shearer helped to coin and define in the book *Economic Democracy*.

*A New Social Contract* proposes concrete steps that illuminate the meaning of economic democracy and the reasons democratic planning could provide the key to economic health. The central idea is that the private corporation must begin

to be rethought and transformed. Neither economic recovery nor democracy is possible so long as giant corporations continue to operate simply for the benefit of their shareholders.

Shearer advocates experiments that would begin the process of democratizing the corporation and making it more responsive to social need, including:

- Federal chartering of corporations, under terms that would require worker representatives on boards of directors;
- legislation requiring corporations to be publicly accountable for plant closings and relocations;
- controls limiting the export of capital to foreign countries;
- workers' control over matters affecting their health and safety in the workplace;
- public aid to workers to enable them to buy or invest in their companies.

In short, Shearer argues that there is an immediate need for reforms that give communities affected by corporate plant location decisions and other policies a way of having a voice in such decisions, and for reforms that give workers a direct voice in management.

Another immediate need is for government policies that promote investment in productive directions. Democratic planning of investment means, first, that communities are empowered to define their unmet needs—for affordable housing, for alternative energy sources, for mass transit, for education and cultural development, for health care and other socially desirable goods and services. It means the establishment of public banks at the national, state and local level that will lead the way in moving investment toward such needs.

It means, says Shearer, the democratization of the Federal Reserve Board—the most powerful government agency affecting the economy should not be controlled by bankers as a private club, but should be made publicly accountable and should include representatives of labor, consumers and small business. It means public support for alternative enterprises: co-ops, collectives, non-profit community development corporations.

It means support for the "soft energy path" and for resource conservation. It means tax and welfare policies that provide adequate living standards for the poor, while closing off tax loopholes that serve as welfare programs for the very rich. All these proposals have in common the notion that investment decisions should be oriented toward improving the quality of our common life rather than simply toward the corporate bottom line. All of these—and quite a few more—are given careful, critical analysis in Carnoy and Shearer's books.

Shearer advocates the democratization of the economy as a practical way to resolve the crises of stagnation and unemployment. "Economic democracy" not only promises people a choice in economic decisions, it also requires that they take more responsibility for them. If workers have a say in corporate management, they will also have to take responsibility for the enterprise. If communities are able to define their unmet needs, then community residents will have to work together to establish their priorities and shared goals. If control of inflation re-

quires that some groups of workers accept wage restraints, such restraint can be achieved fairly only if workers gained something for their sacrifice, some effective voice in corporate policies. If improved productivity is a fundamental necessity to revive the economy, the best way to achieve it is to give people more voice and control in return for having to work harder.

Reaganomics claims that the solution to our economic troubles is to let the rich have the freedom to get richer, while the rest of us sacrifice wages and social services in the hope that some time in the future wealth will "trickle down." Shearer argues that this is both immoral and unworkable; a democratic social contract is written so that the people share power as well as sacrifice. Such a new social contract, he asserts, will provide the hope and the social motivation to spur economic revitalization.

### Cogent proposals.

*A New Social Contract* is filled with proposals—and with cogent argument concerning conventional political and economic wisdom. Because it is plainly written, it will be useful to those who are seeking new directions for social policy and who want ammunition to answer the arguments of those locked into conventional wisdom. But skeptics have every right to wonder how this attractive third way can ever get to first base in this country.

*Shearer is one of a group of economists that espouses economic democracy. He is hopeful about a left politics for the U.S. in the '80s.*

Doesn't "economic democracy" cut against the prevailing winds of political conservatism? Why should the powers that be give up any power?

Shearer is surprisingly optimistic about the political prospects for democratic reform. "Reagan's policies have energized all sorts of groups who are being hurt by them—minorities, women, industrial workers, the middle class. When you put these together with the millions who are also concerned about the nuclear threat, you've got an electoral majority against Reagan," he said in an interview last month.

Contrary to prevailing political punditry, Shearer believes that Reagan is vulnerable, provided the Democrats mobilize this potential majority. What troubles him is that the Democratic candidates are fearful of advocating genuinely new policies. "Some of them are stuck on the notion that high-tech industry will save the economy—but the evidence is that this isn't going to provide the jobs that are needed."

Moreover, leading Democratic candidates are reluctant to defend the role of government in protecting social welfare. Shearer doesn't share the view that Americans are anti-government. Shearer says "people want effective government, not less government. They don't want government by elite or expert, but welcome government that supports their rights and provides them with a voice."

Shearer thinks that some of the proposals of economic democrats will not only attract majority support, but will be seen as necessary by members of the establishment. His book has received plaudits from Edward Kennedy and from some mainstream economists, including

Lester Thurow and Robert Reich. He points out that Federal Reserve Board chief Paul Volcker just last week declared that the inclusion of workers' representatives on the boards of major corporations was probably inevitable, and that even moderate Democratic senators, such as Robert Byrd, favor support of worker ownership schemes. If, indeed, both "free market" and "Keynesian" perspectives are largely bankrupt, then it seems possible that some politicians, searching for potentially popular ideas, will be turning to the neo-left-wing.

In fact, Shearer believes that economic democracy has already begun to demonstrate its viability as workable politics. If there is anywhere in the U.S. where this politics has been put into practice, it is in Santa Monica. There, a political coalition that includes Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights (SMRR) and Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) succeeded in passing a strong rent control measure. Rent control is a good example of how economic democracy can be applied to a concrete social problem; it is a measure that compels landlords to recognize that renters have rights that can supersede owners' property rights, and it creates a situation in which landlords have to share power with tenants.

In Santa Monica, rental housing is now administered by a publicly elected Rent Board. The result, according to Shearer, has been the stabilizing of the population, substantial savings to tenants and considerable deepening of community spirit. The mobilization of tenants on rent control resulted in a dramatic sweep of local offices by the SMRR-led coalition. This coalition controls Santa Monica city government and the Rent Board and has had success in electing candidates to the local board of education as well. The same electoral base sent Tom Hayden to the state Assembly and Mel Levine to Congress.

### Still believes.

Last April Mayor Ruth Goldway was narrowly defeated in her bid for re-election, after suffering through an acrimonious landlord-financed campaign against her. Neither his wife's defeat, nor the sometimes bitter rancor among political activists in the community, have dampened Shearer's belief that the populist-democrat politics he advocates remains popular in Santa Monica. "Our opponents were forced to say that they fully supported rent control [after spending years fighting it]," he says. "Our candidates swept all the seats on the Rent Board, despite Ruth's loss. We have won on the issues, even if individuals may lose because of attacks on them personally."

Economic democracy is strong in Santa Monica, Shearer believes. "We have created a democratic planning structure in Santa Monica—neighborhoods are organized and have the right to participate directly in planning decisions and deciding the shape of their own future."

Developers remain interested in coming in to Santa Monica, says Shearer, "but they now know that in return for making money in our community they will be required to provide services that improve the quality of life."

Thus, new hotel developments may be expected to provide youth hostels, to help finance affordable housing or to help pay for new urban parks. Indeed, says Shearer, the greatest achievement in Santa Monica is the increase in grassroots participation in every aspect of community life. "The scene is full of conflict and sometimes seems confusing—but more and more Santa Monicans of all kinds feel that they have a stake in their future." It is this experience and the reality of community democracy that makes Shearer hopeful about the possibilities of America's future. ■

*Richard Flacks teaches sociology at the University of California-Santa Barbara.*



By David Beers

**O**CTOBER 19'S BLOODY power struggle in Grenada, in which Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and many others were massacred by the army, left most Grenadians feeling betrayed and bitter about politics in general. Almost three months after the traumatic event, they seem in no hurry to replace their present "caretaker" administration with an elected government. That is the picture that emerged after a week of interviewing dozens of Grenadian officials and "persons on the street."

"Let me tell you, the revolution was going along sweet as anything until 'Bish' was killed," a government worker told me. "Now everyone is sour on it, because they lied to us. They murdered their own people." A cab driver said: "Everyone's confused. We can't trust politicians anymore. We can't even trust ourselves right now." A nutmeg packer declared, "God bless Americans. If they want, they can stay and run things forever. We're your 51st state!"

The Grenadians' wariness about politics is not difficult to understand—the last two leaderships to garner their support ended up violent regimes. Bishop's predecessor, Sir Eric Gairy, attracted a following as a charismatic labor leader in the '50s, and eventually led Grenada to independence in 1974. But his government was riddled with corruption, and his personal security force, the "mongoose gang," terrorized political opponents. Bishop himself was a victim. In 1973 he was attacked and severely beaten while attempting to rally support in the island's southern section.

Gairy's overthrow by the Bishop-led New Jewel Movement (NJM) in March of 1979—the first coup by a left-wing party in the Caribbean since the Cuban revolution in 1959—appeared to enjoy wide popular support, and the new government promised "a new democracy in Grenada," a promise that rang hollow four and a half years later when Bishop was dead, Grenadians were warned they would be shot on sight if they left their homes and a Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) was in control of the country.

"People who were saying 'Reagan is wicked' then started saying, 'Come, Daddy Reagan, come and save us.' They were down on their knees praying to Reagan," a Grenadian youth said, remembering the curfew imposed by the RMC.

#### The American regime.

While American troops were here, they pretty much ran things in Grenada. Ac-



Many Grenadians accept occupation by the U.S. after seeing the promises of the New Jewel Movement betrayed and destroyed.

## PERSPECTIVES

# Bishop murder left legacy of cynicism

cording to Major Douglas Frey, U.S. Army Public Affairs, first and second lieutenants often took on mayor-like status in villages, helping to handle day-to-day problems. "The people look to them because they are a built-in authority figure."

Dr. Tony Thorndike, a British political scientist writing on the Grenadian revolution, has an explanation for why the American occupation of the island has been so happy. "Only in the West Indies has an entire population and culture been imported. There is not only an economic dependency on Anglo nations, but a real psychological one as well. There is a psychology of looking to the Anglos to take care of them."

Theories aside, sooner or later the

Grenadians will need to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the People's Revolutionary Government and look to themselves for leaders. It will probably be later. Governor General Sir Paul Scoon, who appointed and heads up the interim government, originally predicted elections in six months, but now speaks in terms of two years. Other officials have suggested three years or longer.

One voice for speedier polls has been Antony Rushford, a British expert on constitutional law tapped by Scoon to be his legal advisor. Rushford, who drafted Grenada's new constitution, stated that a year would allow plenty of time to prepare for elections. But early this month he resigned and headed back to London, complaining that the country was not moving fast enough toward a democratic process.

Why the wait? One of the "caretaker" ministers, who asked not to be identified, put it this way: "Those who were calling loudest for elections under Bishop are against them now, because they see this present government as respectable, technocratic and non-ideological." Scoon and others have explained that it will take time to build parties and let viable candidates emerge. But George Louison, a former Bishop ally in the People's Revolutionary Government, fears that U.S.-backed politicians will use that time to "remove the image of Maurice Bishop from this country."

So far, only two political groups, the Grenada Democratic Movement (GDM) and the Grenada National Party (GNP) have announced their intentions to seek office, and neither will miss the revolution.

The GDM, composed mostly of expatriots living in North America, England and other Caribbean islands, was formed in May to pressure for elections in Grenada and to protest what it perceived as "the increasing disregard for human rights shown by the PRG." Chapters in New York and Washington, D.C., lobbied U.S. support. The GDM economic platform is vaguely centrist—more emphasis on free enterprise, with unemployment and social security benefits—and the president of the group, Dr. Francis Alexis, a lecturer in public law at the Uni-

versity of West Indies, Barbados, faces a bit of a recognition problem: he has not lived in Grenada for over a decade. He left Barbados December 2, saying, "I am going home to get my party started."

The GNP, conservative and pro-business, predates Gairy's reign and is led by 65-year-old Herbert Blaize, who was Grenada's first chief minister in 1960. A week after the invasion the GNP announced itself "ready, willing and able to lead the country back into good government," and Blaize told a friendly political newspaper on the neighboring island of St. Lucia that if his party was to win, he would invite the business sector and trade union officials to assist in formulating the policies of the country.

Blaize also said that "the state is not a good business manager because of the attitude of most Grenadians. Most believe that anything belonging to the state is theirs, so they pay little attention to state property...as a result, I favor a free market economy."

As enthusiasts of Westminster-style democracy and unabashedly pro-American, both the GDM and GNP should find the media on the island cooperative. Grenada's only radio station is operated by the U.S. Navy and broadcasts a mix of pop music and carefully filtered news. The only newspaper, the *Grenadian Voice*, is edited by businessman and former GNP member Leslie Pierre, recently freed after spending more than two years in jail for his role in publishing an anti-PRG tabloid.

Much of Pierre's staff is on loan from the Jamaican, pro-Seaga newspaper, the *Gleaner*, and his first issue was flown gratis by the U.S. military to Barbados for printing, but he is adamant that "we want to be independent of anybody." He admitted to me only one bias: "I wish there were exile laws on the books so we could send all the top NJM people to Cuba if they like Communism so much."

The NJM is in disarray, with most of its key members either dead or in prison as "security risks." The only signal that the party might have a future came November 22 when former Tourism Minister Lyden Ramdhanny told a Toronto radio station that the NJM would be overhauled to see "if we could reconstitute something to run in elections."

Anyone seeking office in the months to come will have to fight the cynicism that has taken hold here. Person after person described politicians as a special "breed" that brings more harm than good to Grenada, and many, unnerved by the sudden collapse of their revolution, said they discerned little difference between Gairy and Bishop.

"Under Bishop it was the same horse, only with a different jockey," one woman told me.

David Beers is a journalist now living on St. Lucia.

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STT1



# Bad times continue to be Grenada's lot

By Rita Jensen

**U.** S. MILITARY PERSONNEL and those under their command have reportedly turned the island of Grenada into an armed camp, repeatedly violating international law and common decency.

That charge was leveled by a 10-member task force of American legal and medical professionals in December after a two-week investigation into conditions on the island. The illegal detention and torture of political prisoners are two violations cited by the task force, the Independent Health Fact-Finding Commission to Grenada, sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus and five other organizations.

"It's not like those photographs you've seen with GIs next to little children waving American flags," said Diane Lacey, a board member of the New York Health and Hospitals Corporation.

Far from being delighted by the Oct. 25, 1983, invasion, Grenada's 110,000 citizens are dazed, in shock from the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the ensuing terror, delegation members reported.

A preliminary report issued by the group, to be sent to black members of Congress, said their findings indicate the invasion should be condemned and all foreign troops withdrawn from the nation that is twice the size of Staten Island.

"Grenada had been a beacon of hope during the last five years [since Bishop gained power in 1979] as a black, English-speaking sovereign nation making positive medical, social and educational changes," said Margarita Samad-Matias, a faculty member at the City College of New York. "Before Bishop, it was a laughing stock, a spice island, analogous to a banana republic."

Not only has the beacon been smashed by the invasion, the group charged, but Grenada has become the home of torture, political harassment, unmet medical needs and intensive psychological warfare. The report the group will make to the black members of Congress and accusations made after their return to the U.S. in early December include the following:

- Former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard told three members of the team that he was arrested at a friend's home by the U.S. military. He and his wife Phyllis were stripped, rolled in cow dung and then rolled in an ant hill. He was subsequently taken for a ride in a helicopter with no doors as it flew in circles and loops over the Caribbean.

The task force reported that Coard denied any involvement in the events of October 19. He had also refused to be interrogated by the military, insisting on his right to legal counsel, task force members said.

Haywood Burns, co-chair of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, said he knew five lawyers who had offered to represent Coard. All were denied because none was admitted to the Grenada bar, Burns said. Only 22 lawyers are admitted to the Grenada bar, he added, and some of them may be among the detainees.

The political prisoners are kept in eight-by-ten foot cells except for a single, 15-minute exercise period daily.

- Widespread economic and psychological reprisals against those who had worked on the airport or had supported Bishop's New Jewel Movement began almost immediately after the invasion.

- Fifty-one political prisoners, including the Coards, are being held at Richmond Hill prison without formal charges. None has been allowed legal counsel. Coard told the group's three members who visited him that "three other security detainees had been taken from the prison to a fort to be interrogated and beaten and then returned to the prison: Mr. Ab-

dullah, who was beaten two to three weeks before our visit on November 24; Lt. Layne, who was beaten on November 14 and 15; and a third detainee, who was beaten a day or two before our visit and forced to sign a confession that stated the confession was being signed without coercion," the report said.

Dr. Eli Messinger, a psychiatrist who teaches at New York Medical College, said he talked to Abdullah and Layne, and they confirmed the beatings. He was unable to speak to the third detainee.

"Grenadian men have guns poked into their ears and mouths after capture by U.S. soldiers; are forced to spread their legs and bend forward; are handcuffed with their hands behind their backs, blindfolded and exposed to the noonday sun or the rain without shelter; are interrogated in small, wooden crates; are dragged through the gravel while being called 'nigger,'" the report charged.

Members of the delegation added that after the invasion, people were instructed to gather in a central place. Those who had been politically active were issued cards. Those with cards are banned from political activity and can be arrested for talking to a former colleague on the street. Those with cards also cannot find work, the group said.

- Approximately 25 of Grenada's total

of 45 doctors and dentists were expelled after the invasion. Most of these worked full-time in the public sector. The deportation of doctors from Sweden, East Germany and South Africa, as well as from Cuba, has left Grenada without a single pediatrician for a population in which 60 percent are under the age of 25. It also left the island without a single psychiatrist for the 180 mental patients in the Richmond Hill hospital. (The U.S. bombed the hospital. Seventeen patients and one staff person were killed and 30 more were hospitalized with injuries. The building called the infirmary, which housed the older and weaker patients, was demolished.)

"No assistance by the U.S. was made available to the hospital until six days after the bombing," the report said.

Happy Hill Health Station, which has served 3,400 people in the parish of St. Georges, also has no doctor now. A specialist in the treatment of diabetes, a doctor from East Germany who had established a diabetic association, was expelled. Laboratory technicians, health educators and an environmental health specialist were also told to leave. In addition to a shortage of trained personnel, the island is experiencing a crucial shortage of hospital equipment. In fact, the hospital has no sterile gloves, the report said.

The shortage of medical aid is so extreme, the group said, that when seven of their members were in an army truck that fell 200 feet off the side of a cliff, a nurse was able to see only some of them. No doctor was available. None was seriously injured, although Lacey still had bandages on her leg and hand in New York.

- The U.S. Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) played a critical role in the invasion and occupation. On October 26, PSYOPS took over Radio Free Grenada and replaced it with Spice Island Radio. The 400 PSYOPS troops' duties include operating an audio-visual van which spreads propaganda throughout the island. PSYOPS members accompany troops throughout the country.

PSYOPS, according to the group, has plastered photos of Coard in a "position of humiliation" across Bishop's billboards across the island. Members of the group termed PSYOPS a "brainwashing unit."

After describing what had happened since the U.S.-led invasion, the delegation said that after Bishop was killed, the Cubans had informed the Revolutionary Military Council that they would no longer work and that they would fight only in self-defense. Burns speculated, therefore, that some of the deaths reported to be Cubans are more likely to be Grenadians. Burns added that the promise for elections seem hollow, since the people must experienced politically will not be able to participate.

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# 1984

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**Class: A Guide Through the American Status System**  
By Paul Fussell  
Summit Books, 202 pp., \$13.95

By Daniel Lazare

Whereas Marx and Engels divided modern industrial society into two great classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—Paul Fussell, a professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, has cast a jaundiced eye upon the nation and come up with no fewer than nine. They range from the “top out-of-sight”—those immensely wealthy neo-aristocrats who never bother

open in doltish wonder.” Fussell claims to feel a certain regard for high proles, but he is clearly condescending to a group he sees made up exclusively of William Bendixes and Archie Bunkers.

At the same time, he bemoans the working classes’ spreading influence. He observes that “the proles, who superficially look like losers, have a way of winning.” Signs of rampant egalitarianism are everywhere—in the way customers line up docilely in post offices and banks (“an infallible signal of proletarianization”) and in the tendency toward self-service in many stores. “Proles like self-service because it minimizes the risk of social

hippies, confirmed residents abroad and the more gifted journalists.” These are people who don’t have to answer to bosses or schedules, who work at home or at their own studio, who wear comfortable old clothes while unluckier souls straitjacket themselves in suits and ties.

The chief X characteristic, according to Fussell, is self-confidence. An X is never embarrassed or ill-at-ease. Other people may pretend to be cultured, but an X is a genuine high-brow. “When in a flux of joy X people burst into song, the air is likely to derive from opera of the Baroque period, or from *Don Giovanni* or *The Messiah*,” Fussell

snear. *Class* is one of the nastiest books to appear in some time. It is downright poisonous. Fussell refers to himself and his fellow X people as “a sort of unmonied aristocracy,” and the description is accurate in more ways than one. The scorn he feels for the rest of the world is typically aristocratic. So is the conviction that he sits atop a universal pinnacle of good taste, intelligence and aesthetic sensibility. So is his boundless complacency and self-satisfaction. And so, too, is his parochialism and self-delusion.

*Class* is a collection of crude caricatures, none of them very good, original or insightful. Lisa Birnbach’s *Official Preppy*

selections from reactionaries like Oscar Wilde and Ortega y Gasset that seem most appropriate.

His range of vision is small: it seems entirely confined to the suburbs outside of Philadelphia, where he presumably lives. There are no apartment-dwellers in Fussell’s little world. All his middle-class and proletarian boobs drive cars and mow the lawn; they don’t live in big cities, ride buses and subways or step into an elevator when they leave their apartments. There are no Jews in his book and certainly no blacks or Hispanics, although he does describe Spanish as a low-status language and Mexican food as “irredeemably vulgar.”

At one point he wonders why graffiti artists never paint over subway ads and concludes that it must be because high proles are in such awe of material possessions that they look upon advertisements as some kind of sacrament. But if Fussell were at all familiar with New York subways he would know that: (a) no one paints over subway ads because they are changed so often; (b) graffiti is primarily a ghetto art-form, not high-prole; and (c) the ads are mainly for job training programs, roach killers and Preparation H, which are not exactly the kinds of things to excite the greedy heart that Fussell assures us lies within the breast of every plumber, bricklayer and electrician.

#### Upwardly mobile academic.

Even Fussell’s taste is none too reliable. He derides Mexican food, evidently unaware that Mexican and regional styles like Tex-Mex and Southern barbecue have recently come into their own—at least in New York—as especially fashionable and popular cuisines. (Elsewhere in the country, of course, they’ve been staples for years.)

Fussell has the musty, retrograde tastes one would expect from a middle-aged academician who spent two decades living in Central New Jersey and teaching at Rutgers (on Fussell’s scale, a classic high-prole-to-middle-class school). Now, however, Fussell has gotten a better job at the lower-Ivy League University of Pennsylvania, and it has evidently gone to his head. But as an arbiter of good taste, he is pure bunk.

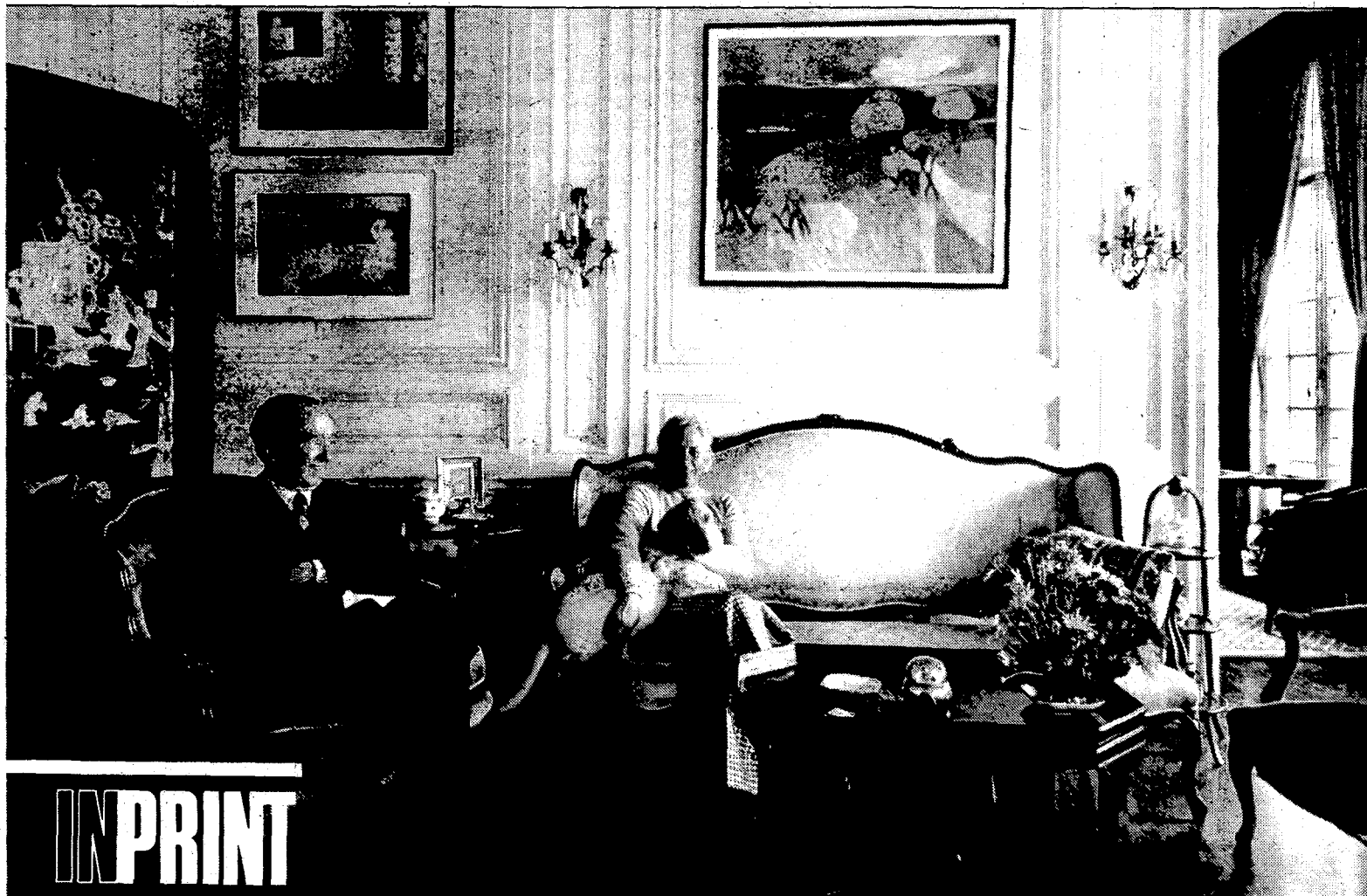
None of this would matter very much, however, if a lot of critics were not praising *Class* to the skies as a masterpiece of social satire, and if Fussell were not regarded in certain circles as a truly heavyweight literary critic. His recent study of World War I literature, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, won a national Book Critics Circle Award and apparently provided the final push needed to propel him across that great social divide between Rutgers and Penn.

*The Great War* opened up a wider audience for Fussell. He began publishing in *The New Republic*. His name began to be recognized. But in retrospect, *The Great War* suffers from the same shallowness as *Class*. It was an exploration of the literary consequences of the war that somehow managed to confine itself to the outward and the superficial (e.g., certain military rituals such as the evening “stand-to” or the exact configuration of British and German trenches) while entirely avoiding the far more important political and moral crisis unleashed by the war.

I can only hope that with *Class* Fussell’s reputation is relegated to the “bottom out-of-sight” status it deserves.

# The official bunk handbook

## CLASS ANALYSIS



Mary Lloyd Estlin

Traditional emblems of the upper crust (above) are too expensive for an unmonied aristocrat like Paul Fussell, so he creates a new elite class.

themselves with anything resembling work—to the “destitute” and “bottom out-of-sight”—the prison inmates, methadone patients and schizophrenics who can be seen wandering around in a thorazine haze in just about any urban neighborhood.

In between is a lesser level of upper class, two layers of middle class and three of proletarian. Upper-class people dress preppy, eat bland foods, play polo and own yachts. Middle-class people are timid and conformist, yet pretentious and ambitious. They use long words when short ones will do, they rave about art they don’t understand and they have a tendency to fawn on their superiors.

Proles (to use the term favored by Fussell) are fat and unattractive, vulgar and tacky. They watch too much television, like to bowl and wear ugly polyester clothes. “High proles,” i.e. skilled workers, can be shrewd (but not intelligent) and tend to be good-natured because they take pride in their work, however low-brow. Middle and low proles, however, are oppressed by assembly-line foremen and have less money and therefore tend to be meaner and nastier.

“The prole,” Fussell writes, “either has his jaw set in bitterness and defiance or his mouth

contact with people who might patronize or humiliate them,” he informs us. “All right for them, but because of prole drift we’re all obliged to act as if we were hangdog no-accounts.”

Fussell longs for the good old days when people with brains went to the theater and those without stayed home to vegetate in front of the TV. Now proles take in Broadway shows, leaving only the symphony halls and art galleries as the exclusive domain of the educated and the genteel.

Where does Fussell place himself in this hierarchy? If he were a traditional snob, it would be with the upper crust—the people with lots of money and lots of good taste, who drink only the best scotch and the best wines, who live in beautiful mansions at the end of long, curving gravel drives and who inhabit a rarefied plane of muted, understated elegance.

#### “X” marks the spot.

But Fussell is a mere university professor and therefore of limited resources. So he opts for a different kind of snobbery. He has created an “X” category for people who repudiate the entire class structure and have chosen to live outside it. X people are successful bohemians: “actors, musicians, artists, sports stars, celebrities, well-to-do former

says.

X people are creative, not only about their work but about everything. “X people tend to eschew the obvious kinds of pets, leaning instead toward things like tame coyotes, skunks, peacocks and anteaters.” Indeed, for X’s, work and play are much the same thing, sort of one continuous transport of intellectual or artistic fruitfulness.

Xs are also sensual: they like good food and good sex and are good at both. Their homes usually have fireplaces “because it’s fun to copulate on the floor in front of it.” They don’t go to restaurants because “they know that if you’re at all clever, you can feed better at home.” Preferred X cuisines are North African, Turkish, Vietnamese and Thai, as well as vegetarian, health and organic foods. X people read a good deal but also watch a lot of TV in hopes of catching an occasional flub of the sort that occasionally shows up on live broadcasts. A sportscaster’s mispronounced word, an outdoor set that collapses in a high wind, a really pathetic mistake in football—all are enough to send a typical X into gales of giggles.

In fact, giggling is what *Class* is really about, that and the supercilious grin and the arrogant

*Handbook* was a far more original and informative guide to the upper classes, although it ultimately proved to be as boring as its subject. Fussell manages to insult everyone but those in the upper rungs (excluding the “top out-of-sight”), which is evidence of his social aspirations. He supports his “thesis” with a large number of eclectically chosen quotations, although it is the

**Fussell is a snob. And his tastes are none too reliable. He derides Mexican food as “vulgar” and says proles are fat and unattractive.**



## FICTION

# Into the heart of darkness

### The Lizard's Tail

By Luisa Valenzuela  
Farrar, Straus & Giroux,  
280 pp., \$16.59

By Elizabeth Hanly

A frolicking, wise-cracking, finger-licking witchdoctor is loose in Luisa Valenzuela's most recent novel, *The Lizard's Tail*. He calls himself Keeper of Pain, Keeper of Fear. Valenzuela's coup here—her triumph—is the creation of a language and a structure that allow the reader to poke around at her Sorcerer and eventually to stand close enough for him to steal the air one breathes.

*The Lizard's Tail* is in part Valenzuela's effort to understand how a decade of bloodletting came to pass in her native Argentina. Thinly veiled historical references constantly reach out to the reader. The whole Peronist gang is here: the Generalissimo (Juan Peron), the Dead Woman (Eva Peron), her successor the Intruder (Isabel Peron) and later, after the 1976 coup that ousted Isabel Peron, the disembodied and nearly indistinguishable voices of all those generals with their talk of national reconstruction and getting away with murder. The Sorcerer strolls, lord of it all, underground amid his Indian maidens, his slaves, his honey-pots and his instruments, at home in, quite literally, an ant-hill paradise. Valenzuela's sorcerer is modeled

after Lopez-Rega, Isabel Peron's minister of social well-being. An intimate of Isabelita's Lopez-Rega published several volumes on sorcery and is also credited with creating and nurturing Argentina's AAA—an extreme right-wing, para-military terrorist organization with innumerable tentacles.

But to consider *The Lizard's Tail* only as political parody is to head cocksure into a labyrinth. Valenzuela is interested in myth. She's among those who equate myth-making with identity—individually or collectively. And myth-making presupposes a deep dive into the unconscious. There's a whole tradition, to which Erich Neumann's Jungian classic, *Art and the Creative Unconscious* is central, which argues that the artist as hero is responsible not only for mirroring a culture but for healing it. Patterns, textures and figures brought up by the artist can gradually reshape the cultural canon, making it more complete. This same tradition defines myth as the collective dream of a people. And, as in a dream where all the characters, the fragments, even the colors are reflections of oneself, so Valenzuela enters into the story.

There are a handful of voices in *The Lizard's Tail*; most are developed with first-person narrative. Valenzuela is there, disturbingly close to the Sorcerer as he ruminates about his natural right



Argentinian novelist Luisa Valenzuela offers a dissection of fascism.

to cause pain. She's there again, a play within a play, as the writer who wrestles with her fictionalized biography and then, after receiving an invitation from her character to his Bacchanalia, must wonder who is creating whom. And all this is happening, even as her own lover is being tracked—in the brutal Argentine style of the mid-'70s—by the AAA.

A certain cadence runs through *The Lizard's Tail*. It's always there; sometimes broad and leisurely, sometimes tightening to a climax. Riding this rhythm on almost every page are the words of an old Argentine prophecy—"A river of blood will flow"—which

goes on to promise 20 years of peace.

There is no peace here—there's barely a plot here—but there is a river of language as rich as blood. Nothing is static in *The Lizard's Tail*. Valenzuela hinges her story on images and metaphors, mostly organic ones, multitudes of them—always moving, colliding, expanding, recreating each other like a kaleidoscope. Most every metaphor suggests another one. Images pierce through all the layers, stunning the reader with all their accumulated meaning.

But Valenzuela the poet is never far from Valenzuela the punster. There's a logic in the lan-

guage that prickles and teases and a relentless humor that keeps the reader off-balance.

The Sorcerer wants a child—more accurately, the Sorcerer wants a son. He's betting he can outsmart the earth and have one "without the help of any woman, without the support of hostile powers." A great deal of the novel's action revolves around his preparations to do just that. Early on one discovers that the Sorcerer has a third testicle that he regards with rapture as his sister and soulmate, his feminine aspect—Estrella, the Morning Star. Estrella will bear their child. Later, however, the Sorcerer has serious doubts about whether to allow this birth or whether "I myself shall retain I myself forever in my innards."

Feminine values are spat upon here. Indeed, the Sorcerer plays regularly with chemicals, hoping to find a combination to speedily dissolve as many uteri as possible. No more corruption, he reasons. With Eros plucked out at the roots, what remains is bloodlust. Valenzuela, speaking as herself in the novel, describes the effects of a meltdown of such feminine values. "I no longer feel time passing in me. I only know of separation, a great cultural broth of separation."

There is no redemption in *The Lizard's Tail*. It's hardly conceivable in this world. What an adventure it would be to watch Valenzuela apply her wit and her tumbling words to that theme. As it stands, *The Lizard's Tail* is finer than any net that tries to catch it. A brilliant dissection of fascism and paranoia, the novel is perhaps most truly a prayer for strength to face one's demons, individually and collectively.... Lest we forget.

Elizabeth Hanley has written for *The Nation*, *the Village Voice* and is at work on a book about the mothers of the disappeared in Argentina.

## NOTEBOOK

### The Production of Desire

By Richard Lichtman  
MacMillan, 320 pp., \$24.95

In the '60s, the world was changeable. Or so it seemed to those who engaged in protest movements. They were up against powerful, reactionary forces. But they also learned what collective action can accomplish. It was widely felt that out of social chaos a new world order would emerge.

Looking back, all of this seems a little naïve. The inertia of a world turning ever so slowly weighs heavily against efforts toward historical transformation.

Freud's view of human nature is consistent with the denial of possibilities for genuine collectivity. In *Civilization and Its Discontents*, he hypothesizes an insurmountable antagonism, based ultimately upon his understanding of the biology of human nature, between the individual on one hand and the social order on the other. But in this same work, written near the end of Freud's life, he also acknowledges a force that he calls "Eros," which is "the instinct to preserve living substance and join it into ever larger units."

This is the main question with which Richard Lichtman grapples in his book *The Production of Desire*, in the context of a far-reaching exploration of what binds the Marxist

and psychoanalytic traditions together and what drives them apart. Marxism and psychoanalysis have a love-hate relationship that stretches back to the first decades of the 20th century. When Wilhelm Reich tried to marry the two traditions, he was expelled from both.

Yet, each tradition may have something essential to learn from the other. Beginning with the idea that even fundamental human desires are historically produced, and therefore subject to historical transformation, Lichtman develops a profound re-evaluation of both Marxism and psychoanalysis. Following an in-depth examination of Freud's assumptions, Lichtman goes on to discuss the attempt by contemporary neo-Freudians to reconstruct psychoanalysis in terms of the meanings that people give to their experiences and interactions. Also of interest to Lichtman is Russell Jacoby's contention that psychoanalysis as therapy is inherently ideological and that the political thrust of psychoanalysis derives from its theory, not from its practice.

Lichtman unsparingly examines these and other attempts to re-interpret Freud. If they are unsatisfactory, then what would a Marxist account of individual experience and development look like? What is Marxism to make of the "un-

conscious," the underworld terrain of dreams, of our deepest desires and fears, mapped by Freud? Is this dimension of our being politically relevant, might it even be essential to our understanding of the nature of revolutionary transformation? Lichtman's discussion of these issues is provocative and illuminating.

—R.B.

### Harold Washington: A Political Biography

By Florence Levinsohn  
Chicago Review Press, 308 pp., \$14.95

With his tumultuous and upset victory in last year's mayoral race in Chicago, Harold Washington was overnight catapulted from his status as a little-known member of Congress. A symbol of the new black political awakening, he became one of the top black leaders in the country. Even many Chicago residents knew little about the man, which contributed to their unease and made them more vulnerable to racial fearmongering in the campaign.

Now Florence Levinsohn, a former managing editor at *In These Times*, has rushed into print a biography that sketches Washington's life from his Chicago childhood—with a father who was a minister, lawyer and early black convert to Democratic Party politics—through his post-World War II college and law school training and his years in the state legislature. Levinsohn portrays him as torn between liberal aspirations and machine obligations, even invoking a "situational depres-

sion" to explain his notorious lapses in filing income tax returns.

A valuable and very sympathetic introduction to Washington, the book emphasizes politics and gives limited insight into the private life and thoughts of a politician whose life is largely his work. It is marred by a lack of Washington's own voice and by its hurried production. There are nagging little errors, the narrative is overly casual and glib, and the research is uneven (better on his college days than on the campaign, for example).

D.M.

### In a Land of Plenty: A Don West Reader

By Don West  
West End Press (Box 7232,  
Minneapolis, MN 55407),  
205 pp., \$6.00

Don't miss this book. I picked it up as a poetry break from history reading. But it turned out to be not just the best book of poetry fresh in my memory but also, both in the lyrics and the essays it includes, the best book of history. Rooted in a particular place (the South and especially the Appalachian hills) and in the wide experience of a man who has been a farmer, lineman, preacher, organizer, deck hand, professor and journalist, with poems dating from as early as 1932 and as late as 1981, *Land of Plenty* is about the U.S. over the last half a century. It is about miners, freedom, racism, sharecroppers, family, love, loss, the South, laughter, labor, hunger

and heroism. Rather than mention the most praiseworthy poems—in any case there are too many exceptional ones to list—it makes sense to whet appetites with the first few lines of "The Dangerous Ones": "The dangerous ones—/ Find them, and they are/ the dissatisfied/ The cross-breeds of love and sorrow/ Of hope and anger—/ The prodders and goaders,/ The provokers, agitators,/ Trouble makers/ And the lovers...." Constance Adams West's spare illustrations make *Land of Plenty* still more beautiful.

D.R.

### Dario Fo and Franca Rame: Theatre Workshops, Riverside Studios, London

Red Notes Books (BP 15, 2a St. Paul's Road, London N1)

Since the U.S. Department of State has twice refused to let Fo and Rame perform their political satire in the U.S. in recent years, this book may be the best way to learn about their radical theater work, unless you can afford to see them in Italy. The book includes some of their comic monologues, interviews with the couple and transcripts of acting workshops they conducted in London last year. Their account of performances in occupied Italian factories should interest labor historians as well as theatergoers.

J.S.

Contributors: Raymond Braglow, David Moberg, Dave Roediger, Joel Schechter.



# ART»ENTERTAINMENT

By Pat Aufderheide

"So it's good, huh?" said my neighbor. "I bet it's *really* depressing."

No, it's really good. *Silkwood* is a rare case of a Hollywood social conscience film done right. Heartstring-tugging techniques are used not in the interest of a good cry or a good cause, but in expression of the human spirit. It's a movie that, while staying solidly and unpretentiously entertaining, refuses to reduce itself to other labels and categories—like "working-class movie," "anti-nuke film" or "women's picture."

It's topical, of course—this movie has had nearly nine years of free promotion in the shocking headlines and lawsuits that the Karen Silkwood case spawned. Silkwood, a 28-year-old lab worker at Kerr-McGee's plutonium plant near Oklahoma City, died in a mysterious accident on her way to deliver key documents to a *New York Times* reporter. The documents, which were never found, purportedly showed how Kerr-McGee was falsifying x-rays of plutonium fuel rods. A staunch union organizer, Silkwood had already been poisoned with plutonium—either accidentally or on purpose. After her death, a lawsuit begun by the Karen Silkwood fund resulted in an Oklahoma federal jury finding Kerr-McGee liable for her contamination. A \$10.5-million settlement is now being contested in court.

This film, directed by Mike Nichols and starring Meryl Streep, focuses on Karen Silkwood's own story, and ends with her death. The picture is framed around the experience of working in a dangerous factory. It explores how people there survive their work days, how they carve out lives for themselves and what happens to them—both good and bad—when they try to take control over their risk-filled world.

Both the direction and the script allow plenty of room to develop these themes. The pace is gracious, which gives the little real-life exchanges where all the meaning is in what *hasn't* been said time to sink in. The pace also lets frustration and love be evoked by gesture and situation as much as by the action-reaction close-up that now seems to rule the "little film." Mike Nichols, a character-actor's dream of a director, shows here the confidence of a story-telling veteran.

The script, written by Nora Ephron and Alice Arlen, opts for the sure-fire without making it cheap. There's a whiff of the made-for-TV movie about the film (produced by ABC Motion Pictures) in its waste-not-want-not construction. Not a single peak moment takes place without a one-two-three foreshadowing. And there isn't a clue at the outset that isn't followed through by the end of the movie. Sets become markers of Karen's progress—for instance, the food-fight-prone lunchroom at the beginning becomes the stage for Karen's diligent union activity by the end. Sure, the efficient scripting can be a bit much—it's just too tidy when Karen's boyfriend Drew (Kurt Russell, the most warm-hearted hunk around), on the outs with her, turns out to be

the tow-truck driver when she has a car accident. But by and large, the brightly-lit story construction doesn't reduce the characters to cut-outs.

## Rage, fear and terror.

"This was much more powerful and harder to handle than *The Day After* for me," said one friend's 13-year-old son. "That night I had nightmares of her being scrubbed." He meant the final time that Silkwood must shower at work after being exposed to radiation. The set-ups make that scene devastating. At first we see the procedure—ruthless scrubbing with harsh brushes and sprays of water—done to someone else. Then we watch her go through it resentfully. And then again, with anger. Finally, we see her undergoing this torture, hysterical with baffled rage and fear—rage and fear that we share. We share her terror too when she flees from company interrogators who are carting all the possessions from her contaminated house in marked plastic bags. She runs toward the camera in a lab suit, the only thing left of what she owns, her arms flailing desperately. But there is no "away" when you've swallowed plutonium—and she knows it.

The sturdy plotting and the meditative directing allow for some of the best performances of the year, not least in the tricky role of Karen. As Streep plays her, she is one of the strongest female characters we've seen in the movies recently. Sharp, sexy and warm, she is no saint or villain but a real person.

But is *Silkwood* faithful to the facts? It is surprisingly accurate. (You can look up the record in *The Killing of Karen Silkwood*, by Richard Rashke.) Accuracy is something executive producers Buzz Hirsch and Larry Cano have paid dearly for. They spent seven years getting this story on screen, starting from their discovery of the case while they were grad students at UCLA. After much research, Hirsch successfully fought a subpoena to bring his materials into the court case, but only after such Hollywood honchos as Robert Wise, Norman Lear and Jane Fonda rallied to his cause with money to fight a contempt of court charge. (It ended with a landmark decision to give filmmakers the protection given to investigative print journalists.) The producers also benefited from cooperation of Silkwood Fund investigators.

The only character drawn rather freely from life is that of Dolly (Cher, in a rich performance), the lesbian roommate. In real life she was Sherri Ellis, a roommate of convenience who had only lived with Karen a few months by the time of her death. Ellis is in fact a lesbian, though that fact wasn't important in her life with Karen. The movie does a good job in developing a sympathetic lesbian character and showing how difficult it is for the people around her to come to terms with their own prejudices. The film stays closer to the truth in other areas. It doesn't slight Silkwood's lively sexuality, making it an integral part of her personality in a world offering few options for women. If the film goes lightly on the role of the union, I suppose we should be grateful for a representation of union ac-

*This picture delivers a message—about the dangers of plutonium, a cancer producer—without separating it from the textures of people's daily lives.*

tivity in any positive light. (My only regret is in seeing then-OCAW leader Tony Mazzochi, a feisty personality, played as a cold bureaucrat.)

The movie also delivers a message—about the dangers of plutonium, a deadly cancer-producer at any level of contact—without separating it from the texture

Union chief Tony Mazzochi was a little surprised. "I thought it was as good as a Hollywood movie—subject to the constraints of making a profit—could possibly do. I think Karen Silkwood has consistently been portrayed differently than she was, though. The fact that Karen is a working-class union heroine has never been recognized.

"In the process of working on this case, I learned a lot about myth-making," Mazzochi adds. "People design their heroes in their own image. It wasn't the trade union movement that picked up Karen's case. It was progressives—the women's movement, the anti-nuke movement, good and well-intentioned people all. But they shaped Karen in their image.

"In the movie, too, she develops a consciousness rather late in the game. But she actually developed it on the picket line during the 1972 strike at Kerr-McGee, and she did what she did because it was a strategy to strengthen the union. She died to save a union. Very few people in the age of bureaucratized unions will even make an economic sacrifice, and here's someone who died for her ideals.

"But this is a good and important film. It's up to us activists to use it as a vehicle to tell the story of Karen Silkwood as a genuine trade union heroine."

Indeed, people are leaping at

together with the help of a wide variety of concerned groups, could become a tool for grassroots activity as well as Washington, D.C.-based public interest work.

The Fund is also using the film as a starting point for new campaigns of its own. One is the Nuclear Reform Project, calling for changes in the 1954 Atomic Energy Act and for new legislation that will give state and local authorities more control over health and safety issues around nuclear energy. The Fund is also pursuing new legislation to protect citizens from the kind of surveillance Silkwood may have suffered from the company. The Fund's lawsuit on that subject fell through because legislation doesn't cover private surveillance.

One problem groups may encounter in raising the issues stirred up by Silkwood's life and death may be "the other side's" reluctance to comment. The industry and particularly Kerr-McGee have largely clammed up on the whole subject, says Andrew Lang, creating "balance" problems for mainstream media.

Kerr-McGee has in fact issued a short statement on the film saying "the producers distorted actual events and failed to present publicly documented fact." But it refuses to issue a more detailed statement or to comment on it, says a press representative, be-

## The Silkwood story: a petrochemical jungle



Meryl Streep plays Karen Silkwood, while Cher, in a rich performance, plays her roommate Dolly.

of people's daily lives. And it makes a convincing case for the company's negligence and for the likelihood that Karen Silkwood was murdered. In the final moments you see headlights looming behind her car, and that image is far more powerful than the strictly-for-the-libel-lawyers notice appended to the film.

## Political reactions.

One test of accuracy is to see how people involved in the case like the film. At the Karen Silkwood Fund, Catholic priest Bill Davis, an investigator, says, "I felt the movie was quite good. I liked it that the movie didn't make her out to be some kind of nuclear martyr. They left her as an ordinary person who was beautiful but flawed, and who didn't listen to people who said 'You can't.'"

the chance to make something more than a movie out of *Silkwood*. Mazzochi plans to set up an event in New York involving a panel of people who knew Silkwood and worked on the case, letting them talk about the issues and playing tapes of her conversations and testimony.

The Karen Silkwood Fund is distributing a highly ambitious organizing kit. It encourages people to call press conferences, organize community events and screenings and to provide background material to local press. The kit provides mini-guides on different issues in the Karen Silkwood story—union rights, women's and civil rights among them. Andrew Lang at the Fund says that hundreds of responses have come in from their initial mailing. The organizing kit, put to-

cause it would only help promote the movie.

At the Council for Energy Awareness—a public relations arm of the energy industry—Carl Goldstein says, "The industry to my knowledge has no interest in picking factual errors out of the movie or discrediting it. We may disappoint the Silkwood Fund in not wanting to pick a fight."

One thing for sure—*Silkwood* is a powerful tool for the nuclear industry's opponents, not because of the strength of its arguments but because of the emotional investment it creates in the audience. It gives us back the ability to care.

For more information on organizing efforts contact The Karen Silkwood Fund, 1324 N. Capitol St., NW, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 797-8106.



## By James Gilbert

Brian De Palma begins and ends his new film *Scarface* with gestures. The first is toward *cinema verite*. He includes a brief newsclip speech by Fidel Castro explaining the 1980 boat exodus from Cuba. The second precedes the final credits and dedicates the film to Howard Hawks and Ben Hecht, the director and writer of the original 1932 *Scarface*.

But the intervening three hours are neither *cinema verite* nor an homage to the brilliant tradition of gangster films that Hawks helped to stimulate. Instead there is a plot of epic triteness, stock characters, lugubrious music, static dialogue and a crescendo of violence that coats the floors and furniture and fills the swimming pool of a Miami mansion with blood.

*Scarface* traces the rise and fall of Tony Montana, a small-time criminal and refugee from Cuba. Like many who fled Cuba in 1980, he is not the middle-class opponent of socialism that the U.S. expected to welcome, but a refugee from prison. Played by Al Pacino, Montana is charming, sly and brutal—with a snarling amorality symbolized by the tiger he later buys and keeps chained in the garden of his mansion.

Montana's first encounter with America establishes the political premises of the film. The immigration officials recognize him for a killer and a likely future player in Miami's Cuban underworld. So they consign him to a refugee holding camp to await disposition of his case. The real point of this first scene, however, is to establish Montana's character, and the ambiance of corruption that pervades the film. Although there is no physical violence, Montana and the officials throw gobs of abuse at each other.

It is quickly apparent that Montana is as obsessed with his own masculinity as the immigration officials are in insulting him. In this instance, his defense is verbal: he uses the word "fuck" as if it were a nervous tic, an unstoppable stutter of hostility that he neither wishes nor is able to control. His second defense, revealed immediately after this scene, is physical: he will kill for pay, for glory, even for politics. He is immune to physical pain, the threat of death or the weakness of sympathy. Everything in his life can be—and is—sacrificed to a driving desire for power.

### Prime performances.

Pacino plays this role with a good deal of charm. He is fascinating to watch and always resourceful, given the difficulties of the plot and dialogue. Unfortunately, there are moments when he drops his Cuban persona to reveal underneath it an Italian caricature. But, for the most part, he succeeds. So do the supporting characters: his elegant and appealing sidekick, his mother, his kid sister, the other members of the gang, the police and even the icy WASP girlfriend. All of them struggle valiantly—and with some success—against the script's stereotypes and wooden dialogue. There are times, how-

ever, when the audience must wonder if they are hearing words or looking at scenes lifted out of earlier movies.

All of this creates a plot where every action is anticipated and every part obligatory: the inevitable "good" mother; the kid sister corrupted by Montana's money; the evocation of gangster ethics; the endless nightclub scenes; and the rise and terrible fall of the gangster hero. The list could be extended almost indefinitely.

Given so many footnotes to the gangster movie tradition and so little new text, it is puzzling just how to estimate De Palma's intentions. Obviously some sort of political statement is being made. Montana detests Castro and repeatedly denounces Communism for attempting to control his actions. Yet these words come from a murderer and drug dealer—a King Midas of the underworld, whose touch creates heaps of cocaine. Above all, Montana seeks to control everyone around him, although in the end, when he fails, he destroys them all. Is this irony? Is De Palma defending Castro? Undoubtedly not, but there is no way to know for sure.

A second political point is just as confused. Toward the end of the film, Montana realizes that all he achieved is a fantasy enforced by murder. High and drunk, he stands up in a restaurant to denounce the other patrons. They are like him, he cries or more accurately, he represents the violence that they profit from but cover up. Is this De Palma's denunciation of capitalism or just a ritual of the genre?

### An orgy of murder.

Most of these issues have passed unnoticed because of De Palma's rhapsodic use of violence. No bloodstained belly misses the lingering stare of the camera. The film moves from one method of murder to another, as if in pursuit of the perfect means to dispose of human life. Defenestration, hanging, chainsaw decapitation, to name a few, lead to the final splattered ending. This virtuosity, which is De Palma's trade mark, has appalled some critics and aroused the ire of would-be censors.

In fact, the movie industry rating council originally awarded an "X" to the film. But under pressure from the studio and in response to a few brief cuts, the industry rescinded this and gave it an "R." Quite rightly, critics have argued that what remains is as outrageous in its own fashion as hard-core pornography. But they probably also miss the point. Without the violence, *Scarface* would be a terrible bore, perhaps even an unconscious comedy.

The fundamental problem is that De Palma has trivialized a great genre of American film-

making. He understands all the components of gangster films and each appears in exaggerated and obvious form in *Scarface*. But his contempt for human life and for the audience indicates how little he has, ultimately, understood the dynamics of the past successes that he quotes.

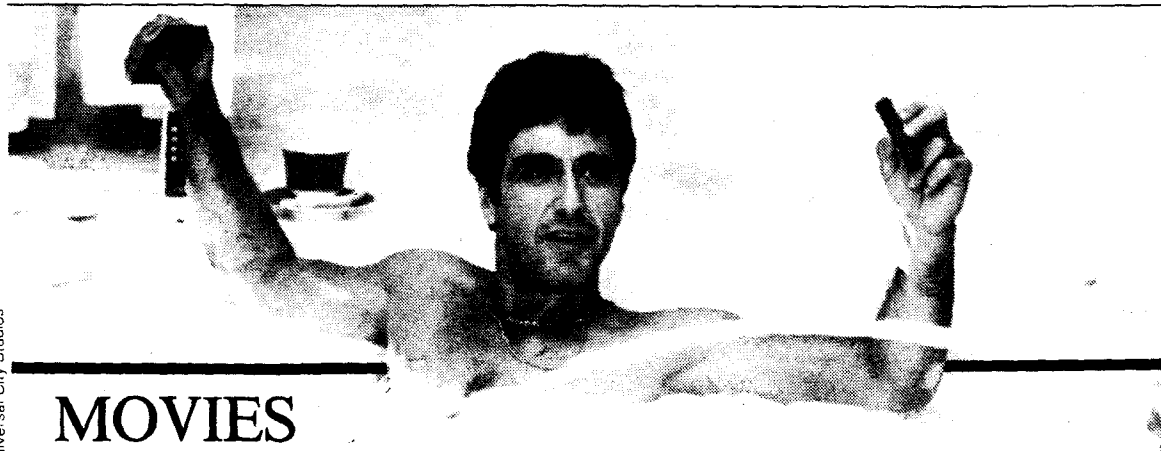
The gangster film, as it originated in the '30s and developed for two decades, shows us two visions of America, held together in uneasy tension in the person of

surrounds himself with the symbols of upper-class life: fast cars, palaces and women. He even becomes a sort of celebrity, known widely in the press, feared and admired by police and politicians. No wonder, then, that the American gangster has often been used as a symbol for the ruthless capitalist by European writers such as Bertolt Brecht.

In the movie plots that merge these visions of the despised (and sometimes pathetic) immigrant

immigrants, may rise to the top by finding some shortcut, but they are nonetheless doomed.

A final aspect of gangster films can only be described as a contradiction to the message and intent of the genre. The greatest producers and directors expressed an intense admiration for the characters they created. Directors and actors lavished their talents on these films, and the very brilliance of their performances make the heroes almost admir-



## MOVIES

# DePalma gangster epic is less than sum of parts

the hero. The first of these visions is immigrant life. Invented in the waning years of the '20s, which were marked by prohibition, gangsterism and waves of anti-immigration passion, this genre primarily portrays Italian immigrants. In the stereotypes that emerged immigrants are violent, grasping and ruthless, yet possessed by sentimental family ties. Their accents are heavy and their incorporation into American life is only partial. They live at the margins of society, where their imported ethics dominate an underworld of violence and crime. Taken by itself, this vision reflected considerable ethnic prejudice and hostility toward the most recent newcomers to America.

The second vision in the gangster film is an obvious satire of American capitalism and an attack on the morals and tastes of the upper classes. The plot is always about mobility—not the idealized story of rags to middle-class comfort reserved for American schoolchildren—but a ruthless clawing to the top. The exploitation has no subtlety; there are no factories, no foreclosures or bureaucracy to hide behind. Money is extracted directly—through robbery, murder, gambling and bribery. Using these means, the gangster rises to the top, muscles out competitors and

and ruthless capitalist, the denouement is inevitable. The gangster has to be destroyed, and generally with the tools of his own trade: violence and treachery. Respectable America, despite its prurient interest in the crime and sadism of the criminal, cannot, in the long run, allow such a character to survive, at least in popular culture. Even the gangster seems to be aware of this inevitable end, for in most of the great examples of this genre there is a moment of self-recognition, an expected reckoning, and an almost welcome death.

In the end, the satire of capitalism is blunted by the fall of the gangster and the triumph of law and order. This reestablishes distance between the criminal order and the normal social order. These films do not condemn capitalism, but only a twisted, criminal version of it. Those who do not deserve to succeed, such as

able. Perhaps it is this tradition that persuaded Al Pacino to undertake *Scarface*. But Brian De Palma does not reveal the passionate fascination for personality of his distinguished predecessors, nor the sympathy for human weakness that made the original gangster films vivid and memorable. True, he understands intellectually what constitutes the tradition. All the parts are there in his film. But his failure to recognize that the moral and cultural tension in this tradition commits him to the fatal assumption that the genre is ultimately only an excuse for violence.

James Gilbert teaches history at the University of Maryland and is finishing a book on juvenile delinquency.

*Rags to riches: Al Pacino is fascinating as the Cuban hoodlum turned Miami drug king.*





# UFW

Continued from page 13  
to get a contract.

Despite these efforts some believe that the Lucky boycott will be hard to win, even with the new direct-mail campaign. "Bruce Church is one of the toughest companies the UFW has taken on. Lucky's may cave in, but Church has expanded into southern markets, beyond the UFW's northern and western urban support base," said Doug Foster of the Center for Investigative Reporting.

## Living without the ALRB.

Despite the sabotage of the ALRB, organizing efforts continue, with the UFW winning more than three-fourths of representation elections, almost twice the national average. Although employers are able to bottle up the process between an election and a contract, the push for unionization remains strong.

A primary reason is job security. Under a union contract, seniority is established without reference to the favoritism that is prevalent in non-union jobs. Wages for farmworkers have doubled and tripled under union contracts, and many non-union farms have also raised wages—to keep unions out. In addition to wage increases and improved working conditions, a union contract offers such previously unheard-of benefits as vacations, pension programs and medical plans. Three medical clinics have been opened, several more are in the planning stages and the union paid out its first pension benefits in May.

A new organizing structure approved by the UFW convention is expected to increase union membership in California and lay the groundwork for national expansion. Instead of regional organizing directors responsible for all crops in an area, organizing will now be divided by industry—grapes and tree fruit, for example.

"Industries have similar seasonal patterns, economic structures and pools of labor, so organizing on an industry basis will help us to achieve parity for workers in an industry," Lyons said. The autonomous divisions provide an incentive to organize—the more workers they organize, the more resources they will have.

Organizing efforts got another boost with the opening of the union's first radio station, KUFW-FM, on May 29, which will cover the Central Valley in California. "Because our members are constantly moving, radio provides the best way to educate and communicate with them," said UFW political director Paul Chavez, son of Cesar Chavez. KUFW carried the union's convention live.

But organizing efforts are up against some formidable obstacles. An attempt by growers in 1979 to break vegetable contracts led to a major strike that ended in a draw, with contracts lost and won. Bruce Church was one of those who held out from signing. Since then, although the UFW has continued to win elections, getting contracts has become increasingly difficult. Recently, the firm with the largest number of workers under contract, Sun Harvest, declared bankruptcy in an apparently successful attempt to break the contract. Other growers are expected to follow suit.

Although the number of jobs under contract has increased, recruiting dues-paying members is difficult because of the transitory nature of the work. The UFW has organized roughly 20 percent of California's 200,000 farmworkers.

## UFW political agenda.

The dominant political concern voiced at the UFW convention, held September 4-5, was defeat of the Sebastiani initiative, a Republican-sponsored reapportionment initiative that Democrats feared would have thrown the state legislature to the Republicans. Its passage had been expected before a special election to have been held in December was nullified by a September 12 state Supreme Court ruling that declared more than one reapportionment a decade unconstitutional. The

UFW feared that among the laws passed by such a legislature would be right-to-work legislation and the elimination of the ALRA.

The convention also approved the establishment of a Chicano Lobby to increase the political effectiveness of California's Chicanos, called by Cesar Chavez the "most consistent supporters of the union."

"We have an opportunity to pay back that support through the lobby, and the stronger the Chicano community is politically, the better they will be able to support us," Paul Chavez said. The lobby will carry out a survey of the Chicano community to identify issues and set priorities, and to develop a legislative agenda, something not done up till now. Although initiated by the UFW, the lobby will be financed by community, not union, funds and will eventually become a coalition effort.

Nationally, the UFW, along with several Hispanic organizations, is lobbying against the Simpson/Mazzoli immigration reform bill, which failed in last year's session of the House. Of particular concern to the UFW is a provision expanding the H-2 program, under which foreign workers are imported to fill "temporary farm labor shortages," the latest "Bracero" program. "It's a form of union-busting—by flooding the job market, it depresses and keeps a lid on wages," Paul Chavez said. It will be difficult for growers to prove that there are labor shortages with farmworker unemployment above the national average.

The internal union dispute that animated the last convention in 1981, when delegates from the Salinas area walked out of the convention, was not much in evidence this year. In 1981, members of the Salinas local—one of the largest—attempted to gain representation on the union's executive board, which they have long been denied. A parliamentary maneuver, binding delegates to vote for an entire slate, defeated them, and they responded with the walkout.

A month later, nine of the paid representatives, including several of the prominent leaders of the 1979 strike, were fired by the UFW. In November 1982, a judge ruled that their positions were based on election and not appointment, as the union claimed, and thus they could not be summarily fired. Six days after the decision, the UFW filed a \$25 million libel and slander suit against the nine for leafletting workers with the charge that the Executive Board had misused union funds for the election campaign. In return the nine have filed a counter-suit, backed by 300 union members from the Salinas area, charging that the union's suit attempts to suppress their First Amendment rights. Both suits are in pre-trial stages at this time.

The conflict in Salinas has not helped organizing efforts, with the UFW already under attack by growers and the governor. In addition, a number of key UFW organizers have left the union in the last several years for various reasons. The attack on the ALRB and growers' resistance has forced the union to take a more political tack, but has also led to some demoralization among the rank and file.

## A broader mission.

The most far-reaching change approved at the 1983 convention was a broadening of the union's "mission" to include the concerns of food consumers as well as food producers/workers.

"We have to be concerned about the issues that affect our supporters, the 17 million people who boycotted grapes and lettuce," Cesar Chavez told the convention. "What is the mission that will project the union as it was projected in the '60s? If we say that the union's mission is to organize workers, we are limiting ourselves. That isn't what most concerns our supporters. Their concern is that food should be produced with justice for the workers...and we also have to be concerned about the consumer, their concerns are our concerns."

"We are looking for issues that interrelate, for example, pesticide protection," Lyons said. "It's in the workers' interest not to be poisoned in the fields,

and it's in the consumers' not to have pesticide residue on their food. What affects our members directly affects consumers indirectly, and what affects consumers directly affects our members indirectly."

## Taking on agribusiness.

In addition to gaining public support, the new emphasis will help orient the union to deal with changes in agribusiness that affect it adversely. Employment is a major issue, with agricultural mechanization and imports, especially from Mexico, increasingly threatening jobs. "Agribusiness has had unfettered power, which is not healthy for workers or the public," Lyons said. Food grown south of the border can be produced with low wages, and with no pesticide or health and safety regulations—something the UFW hopes to bring to consumers' attention in the future.

The UFW recently won a precedent-setting contract that requires severance pay for workers displaced by mechanization. In 1982 the ALRB ruled that mechanization was not a management prerogative but had to be negotiated. Yet that ruling also was overturned in another case under pressure from the Deukmejian administration.

The broader emphasis also reaches the legislative arena. "We have concentrated on farmworker interests and opposing the attacks of the growers," Paul Chavez said. "In the future, we will take the offensive. Every time the growers attack the interests of farmworkers, we are going to attack their bread-and-butter interests: the water they receive free, the subsidies they get for growing, or not growing, crops, the subsidies for agricultural mechanization research. For example, recently, the grape growers wanted a change in the law to get better prices from the wineries. We said if you deal with us in a fair way [in organizing], we'll help you. If not, we'll attack you. They refused, and we helped to defeat the bill."

John Raymond is a staff writer for the Santa Barbara News and Review.

# Orwell

Continued from page 24

dence that he ever read Marx. He relied on seat-of-the-pants intuition to find his way through the political thicket and on lessons picked up in the streets of Barcelona. He looked forward to the day a red flag would be planted in the rubble of Buckingham Palace, and dreaded the coming war between Germany, France and Britain as simply another imperialist bloodbath—a ghastly, farcical replay of 1914-18.

## Orwell's blue period.

*The blue period (1939-40):* Orwell surrendered his resistance to the coming war on the eve of the Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pact. But, as he saw it at the time, it was also a surrender to death and tyranny. Orwell recalled that the realization came to him in a dream. "It taught me two things, first, that I should be simply relieved when the long-dreaded war started, secondly, that I was patriotic at heart, would not sabotage or act against my own side, would support the war, would fight in it if possible."

Other times during this period, he was more pessimistic. He was certain that totalitarianism would triumph in England as in Germany as a result of the war. "The autonomous individual is going to be stamped out of existence," he insisted. Curiously, this is the period of some of his best writing, particularly his long essay on Charles Dickens, which ends with his homage to the great writer as a "19th-century liberal, a free intelligence, a type hated with equal hatred by all the smelly little orthodoxies which are now contending for our souls."

## Latent patriotism.

*The "this-scepter'd-isle" period (1940-41):* Orwell was heartened, however, when it became apparent that Churchill

was determined to wage war vigorously, and was tremendously impressed by the emerging British martial spirit. The thought that the Nazis might actually invade was electrifying. Orwell envisioned British workers forming into red militias, as in Spain, to defend their country against fascism, and even imagined that a romantic old imperialist like Churchill might actually lead them. His best writing of this period was *The Lion and the Unicorn*, a long meditation on English national character, in which he finds that "England is a family with the wrong members in control." Most characteristic image: Orwell walking the streets of London during the blitz, wondering which windows would make the best machine-gun emplacements for use against the Germans.

## So bored with the USA.

*The mildly-pink period (1941-44):* It eventually became clear that Germany would not invade, that America would intervene, and that the war would be largely left to professional soldiers. Orwell's visions of red militias billeted in the Ritz Hotel faded before the vaguer hope that a radical Labour government would be elected to combat privilege and inequality at home as it fought against fascism abroad.

It was also during this period that Orwell's anti-Americanism became most explicit. It is rarely acknowledged by reactionary admirers of Orwell like UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and neo-conservative writer Norman Podhoretz, but Orwell generally disliked America as the land of rampant commercialism—the great capitalist upstart, where disputes are settled by a hard right to the jaw. The American journalists he met were right-wing, ill-informed and over-paid, while the American soldiers who inundated England prior to the Normandy invasion were drunk, obnoxious and also over-paid.

In 1943, he asserted that rather than "the dreary world which the American millionaires and their British hangers-on intend to oppose on us" after the war, most Britons would prefer "some kind of United States of Europe, dominated by a close alliance between Britain and the USSR."

This is also the period of *Animal Farm*, which, however pessimistic the ending, still stands as a passionate defense of socialism and revolution.

## About face.

*The red-white-and-blue period (1945-50):* Five years later, Orwell felt the national pulse again and came up with the opposite conclusion. In the event of a U.S.-Soviet showdown, he wrote, "everyone

Continued on facing page

# CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Kirby Mittelmeyer.

## PHILADELPHIA, PA

### January 18, 20, 21

Big Small Theater presents *A Light from Below*, a musical concerning U.S.-Nicaragua relations, featuring the poetry of Ernesto Cardenal and music by Heath Allen. Jan. 18: Painted Bride, 230 Vine St., 8:00 p.m., \$5 benefit for Medical Aid to Nicaragua. Jan. 20-21: Temple University Center City, 1619 Walnut St., 8:00 p.m., \$5. A program of Philadelphia Artists Call. Information: Erin Williams, (215) 386-1530.

## ORONO, ME

### July 28-31, 1984

International Institute on Social Work in Rural Areas. Proposals for presentations are being sought dealing with rural reformers and rural struggles for social and economic justice; impact of state and federal budget cuts; effects of sexism, racism, ageism and ethno-centrism on rural people, etc. For information contact Bill Whitaker, 211 East Annex, Orono, Maine 04469. (207) 581-2384 or (207) 581-2380. Proposals are due by March 1, 1984.



*Continued from facing page*

knows in his heart that we should choose America. The great mass of people in this country would, I believe, make this choice almost instinctively." Orwell was not alone in his final about-face. Stalinism had gone through a relatively liberal, expansive phase during the war, but soon the concentration camps were again bulging, the purge machinery was re-started and Stalin had resumed his savage broodings deep within the recesses of the Kremlin. The U.S., on the other hand, remained politically democratic, however severe the anti-Communist crackdown. It was also the center of world capitalism, but that seemed to bother Orwell less than it had before.

1984 is the product of the new, pro-American Orwell. While the hyper-totalitarian state of Oceania contains elements of Nazi Germany and even of postwar Labour Britain (specifically, the general poverty and the popular tabloids filled with little besides sex and sports), the major source is clearly the Soviet Union. All the main ingredients of Stalinism are there—the stultifying bureaucracy, the caste-ridden social structure, the party dictatorship, the revolutionary past, the purges and the determination to reshape history according to current political

need. Moreover, the streak of pessimism found in *Animal Farm* is also present in 1984, but magnified a thousand times.

In *Animal Farm*, he had wondered if all efforts to achieve socialism were doomed to failure. In 1984, he went much further in suggesting that the drive for political power could easily become self-perpetuating, all-encompassing, totalitarian powerlust. The corollary to this, however, is that since the drive for power is concomitant to the drive for political change, then the seeds of a Big Brother may lurk in the heart of every union organizer, every antiwar activist, or even every animal-rights advocate.

It was a fearful, pessimistic doctrine, which was of great use to the right wing. Moreover, 1984's strong resemblance to the Soviet Union made it a propaganda godsend for all those Cold Warriors who preached that the U.S.-Soviet conflict was a simple matter of democracy versus dictatorship. Orwell subsequently issued a statement that his book was not meant as an anti-socialist tract, merely as a warning of what *might* happen if the left failed to appreciate that political democracy was essential if socialism was ever to be achieved. But his protest was lost in the hubbub.

Does that mean that 1984 is fit reading only for reactionaries and militarists?

Not at all. The novel's initial impact may indeed have been partly negative, but that was long, long ago, in an entirely different era. Stalin, after all, has been dead more than three decades now. The Soviet Union is currently ruled by an enfeebled, disheartened bureaucracy and is a far cry from the half-insane charnel house of Orwell's day. The U.S. meanwhile, is much more cynical than 35 years ago. Its ugly and brutal side was shown to the world during Vietnam, and it continues to be shown in such debacles-in-the-making as Central America. Moreover, anyone looking for a modern example of "Newspeak" need search no farther than Jeane Kirkpatrick's self-serving distinctions between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, or Reagan's bizarre certifications to Congress that progress on human rights is being made in El Salvador because right-wing hit squads are knocking off fewer peasants and union organizers than this time last year.

In addition, despite all his political gyrations, Orwell remained, in his fashion, a socialist. That is, he was acutely aware of the conflict of classes and threw in his lot with the wage earners, shopkeepers and lesser-paid scientists and professionals.

He had a vivid and sympathetic imagination and knew that it is in the mundane details of everyday life that a political

system is ultimately judged. In 1984, Orwell not only describes how totalitarianism works, but how it tastes and smells—the sweaty, unwashed bodies, the hallways reeking of boiled cabbage, the oily-tasting gin. It is easy to become blasé about things like personal privacy or speaking one's mind, but not after Orwell's graphic depiction of what it would be like if they were absolutely totally forbidden.

In a sense, Orwell never left Barcelona. For him, it would always be 1937, Soviet secret police would always be ranging over the country, looking for victims, and the surreal, hellish show trials would always be underway in Moscow. In *Animal Farm*, the main split was between the pigs Napoleon and Snowball, i.e. Stalin and Trotsky. In 1984, it was between Big Brother and his underground revolutionary rival, Emmanuel Goldstein—in truth, the same two historical figures. Orwell's solution to Stalinist oppression, moreover, never changes: "If there is hope," Winston Smith writes in his forbidden diary, "it lies in the proles." In Barcelona, Orwell had enrolled in the semi-Trotskyist P.O.U.M.; in the Oceania of 1984, Winston Smith enrolls (or attempts to) in the secret army of Emmanuel Goldstein. Orwell, it seems, could never quite escape his revolutionary past. ■

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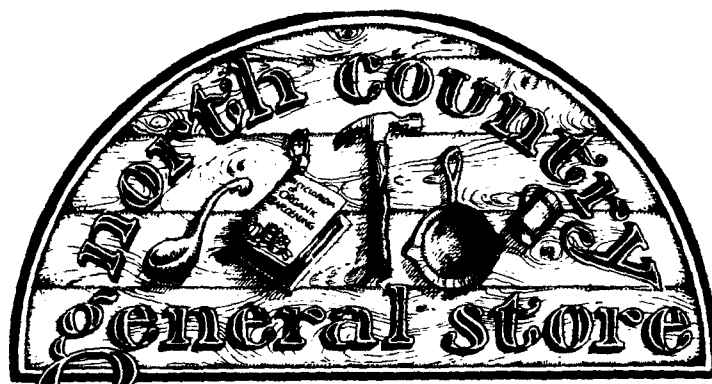
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# ORWELL

By Daniel Lazare

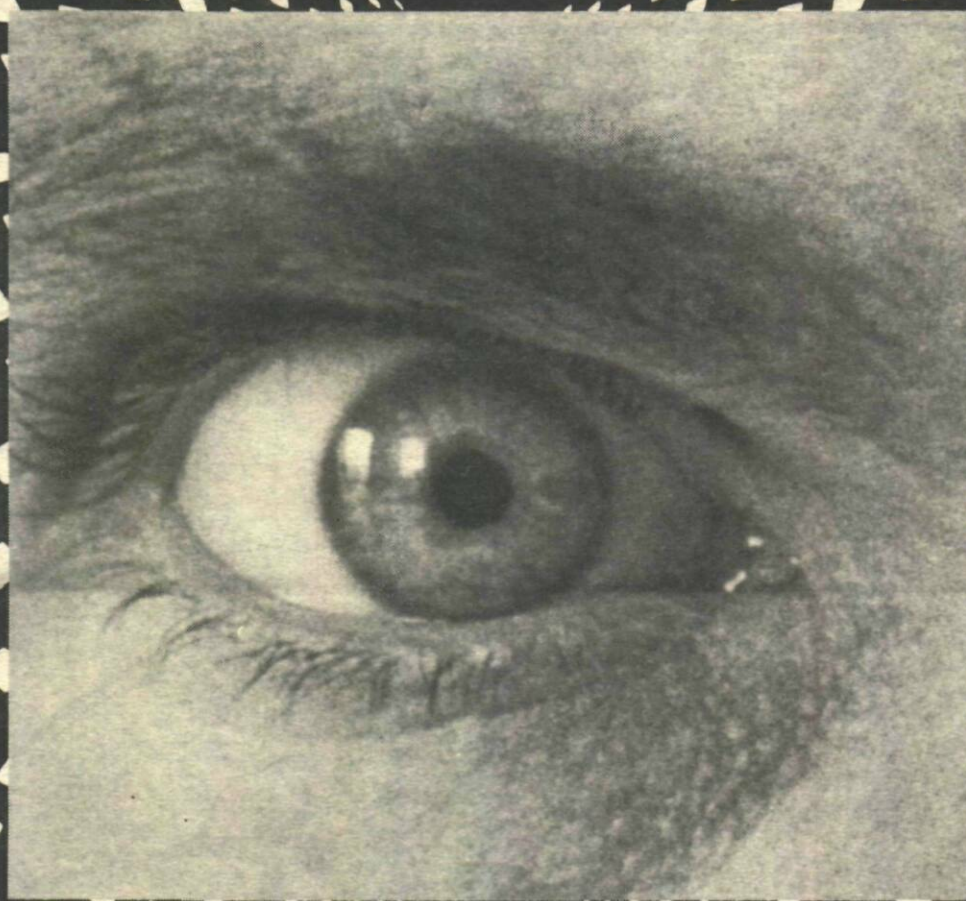
**G**EORGE ORWELL ONCE REMARKED that Lenin "is one of those politicians who win an undeserved popularity by dying prematurely." He also once remarked of Gandhi that "saints should always be judged guilty until they are proved innocent."

Both comments are worth keeping in mind now that the ominous year of 1984 is upon us, because both could be said to apply to Orwell as well. If Lenin's reputation was enhanced by his early death in 1924, so was Orwell's by his in January 1950 from tuberculosis at age 46. Whereas some writers drone on and on into old age, boring the world and causing people to forget that they ever had talent, Orwell exited at the most dramatic moment possible. *1984*, published just half a year earlier, caused an immediate sensation on both sides of the Atlantic.

"If you want a picture of the future," the novel warned, "imagine a boot stamping on a human face—for ever." Orwell's death, therefore, was taken as more than just the loss of a great writer, but as the loss of a prophet.

The same aura of sanctity that settled posthumously around Gandhi also settled around Orwell. He was called an "intellectual hero" by the critic Irving Howe and "the wintry conscience of a generation" and even "a kind of saint" by V.S. Pritchett. The Orwell legend that has developed over the decades is that of a lonely, isolated, even somewhat cranky individual who nonetheless stood out as a towering moral leader in an age of lies because of his stubborn devotion to truth and common sense.

The legend contains a good deal of truth. But Orwell also stands as an illustration of the unfortunate truth that more than simple morality and common sense is needed in the complex, ever-shifting world of politics. Rather than a saint, Orwell was simply a certain type of radical, Anglo-Saxon so-



The writer, the socialist,  
the prophet and the legacy.

cialist—long on morality and short on political theory—who, in the end, was more often wrong than right. Of course, Orwell's era was the extremely confusing and crisis-ridden period from the Spanish Civil War to the rise of the Cold War, when all but a few people on the left, none of them very popular, were wrong most of the time. Orwell's record is honorable, but hardly saintly or intellectually outstanding.

For instance, I count five distinct stages in Orwell's political development between 1936 and 1950. That is roughly one political corner turned every three and a half years—a fair amount by anyone's standard. But while Orwell's

mind was continually racing, he left little behind in the way of intellectual consistency. As Mary McCarthy aptly observed in 1969: "His political failure—despite everything, it was a failure if he left no ideas behind to germinate—was one of thought." Following is an outline of the stages of Orwell's journey.

## The red years.

*The red period (1936-39):* The Orwell who arrived in Barcelona in 1936 was a bohemian individualist who half sympathized with the socialists he had met in the north of England and half despised them as a collection of ineffectual misfits. Spain, however,

changed all that. Barcelona, he wrote, "was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle." Red flags, political slogans and gutted churches were everywhere. The shops, cafes, barber shops and even the shoeshine stands had all been collectivized, and waiters and elevator operators refused out of political principle to take tips.

Orwell had intended to sign up with the Communist-run International Brigades. If he had, he might well have wound up with a bullet in the brain, courtesy of Stalin's secret police, who were terrorizing Republican Spain.

Instead, he fell purely by chance into the militia of the P.O.U.M., a semi-Trotskyist party to the left of the Stalinists. The difference was between socialism and police terror. In the P.O.U.M. trenches at the front, Orwell found awful food and multitudes of lice. But he also found rank-and-file soldiers electing their officers and military policy being hammered out in political discussions that stretched out over weeks but nevertheless served to weld each squad into a tight military and political unit.

Orwell served six months at the front before he was wounded slightly in the throat and sent to Barcelona to recuperate. There he found himself caught up in the suppression of the P.O.U.M. by the Communists and the Republican government. It was a civil war within a civil war, as well as a side-show to the great purges then underway in Moscow. It was also a rare opportunity for an Englishman raised on a diet of fair play and free speech to get a close look at totalitarianism in action. Orwell was shocked by the arrests and executions and the orchestrated lying campaigns, which even affected "progressive" opinion in the comfortable bosom of Mother England.

The experience made Orwell a thorough-going socialist, even a revolutionary, but not a Marxist. Indeed, there is not a shred of evi-

*Continued on page 22*